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सम्पादक
श्रीमती ऋद्धि प्रधान

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का.मे.अ.द.नं.८/६८ हु.द.स.बा.अ.नं.२/०२३

'प्राचीन नेपाल'का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासँग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयको सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

रचनासँग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हुनेछ ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contributions of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraph, manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of art work are invited to the 'Ancient Nepal' - the journal of the Department of Archaeology.

The contributions should be concise and well-documented, and based on hitherto unpublished data. It will, however, be welcome if, on any already published principle, any new interpretation or evidence is put forward.

The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or the Department of Archaeology.

Photographs and illustrations (line drawings) may be sent. The typescript should be in double space and on one side of the paper only and sent to:

The Director General
Department of Archaeology
Ramshahpath
Kathmandu, Nepal.

A Few Words on Archaeological and Archival Research in Southern Mustang

- *Khadga Man Shrestha*

Archaeological and archival researches reveal the achievements of human beings in different times. Specialized learning with scientific approach helps us in drawing different inferences. Verification of informations on the basis of present day realities hypothetically take us to truth to certain extent. Although fiction is not the base of the recording of historical events, events based on the realities of life cannot be ignored. If any event occurs in a certain place, the circumstances leading to the event have to be taken into consideration. What situation has caused the event to originate; what was the degree of participation of the people in the event; how was its impact in the society; how was the record maintained? The investigation of all these facts and compilation, comparison, and assessment of such informations will naturally help in depicting the special features of certain cultural and ethnic groups. Authenticity of such events are confirmed with proper study, analysis and verification of the informations recorded in different forms. Archival sources thus prove to be one of the sources of studying cultural life and its historicity. Archival sources fall in the literary sources studying the history of mankind, which include both fictitious as well as narrative of real events. Archaeological sources on the other hand are the most extensive sources of informations which have to be carefully studied with wide vision, using macro as well as micro analysis technique. With regard to archaeology we excavate the potential sites with all techniques of expeditions and explorations. Such researches will definitely prove to be more useful in the proper study of the history of mankind.

This special issue of 'Ancient Nepal' deals with the reports of archival and archaeological researches in Southern Mustang.

Dr. Dieter Schuh in collaboration with Wangdu Lama has presented the second part of his report entitled "Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas" and the first part of the report was published in 'Ancient Nepal' Issue No. 137.

In this issue his report deals with two specific areas of studies, namely, (1) Governmental Organisation Structures in Southern Mustang in the Eighteenth Century, and (2) The Rise of Tibetan Enclave in the Muktinath Valley and the Linage of upto the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.

He has further subdivided the first topic into two parts, namely, (a) Democratic city state south of Kagbeni, and (b) The feudalistic political order of the land of twelve villages.

To begin with, he gives an account of an autonomous unit referred as Thak Khola in the eighteenth century. Thak Khola was an area stretching from Baragaon 30 km south to Ghasa at

that time. It was an autonomous area stretching from Parbat to the south and Mustang to the north. Politically, the area was divided into three separate units, namely, Thak, Som-bu (Thini) and sPun-khris (Marpha) in the eighteenth century. The author has based his study on "The Bemchang Village Record and the Early History of Mustang District". He has translated the original Tibetan texts into English and has depicted the socio-economic life of the area and regulations relating to local self government.

Secondly, he has also evaluated the feudalistic political order of the land of twelve villages. By quoting the narrative chronicle the author has pointed out relationship of the nobles of the Muktinath Valley with Jumla. He further states that the later lords of the castle of Muktinath came from Jumla. He has also elaborately described the political and social order in those days quoting different documentary sources. The author has also mentioned the areas for further research. He says that it is yet to be decided if Khro-ba-skyabs-pa himself or his sons Grol-ma were the actual founders of that castle of Kagbeni. He further says that the ethnic study of the area from Jumla to Mustang is an open question.

Mr. M. L. Karmacharya's article entitled "Role of the Bhaladmis in the Management of Local Affairs in Southern Mustang in the 19th and 20th Centuries" deals with archival materials which are in the possession of the Nepal German Project on High Mountain Archaeology. The author in general defines the role of Bhaladmi as a gentle person or reputable man of good character. Mr. Karmacharya critically evaluates the documents recently discovered in Marpha, Thini, Jhong, Jharkot and Ghasa. These documents are the bonds or regulations drawn up with mutual consultations and consent by the communities on various occasions. These documents cover the period from 1868 to 1964. These were the sets of customary rules and regulations made by the residents of the villages located in the southern part of the modern district of Mustang.

To conclude, the author says that the Bhaladmis had the role of arbitrators, mediators or persuaders assisting in maintaining local community discipline for peace and prosperity in their respective territories. The Bhaladmis were recognised for their sincerity, integrity and intellectually enlightened attitude. They exerted significant influence in the decision making process.

Dr. Angela von den Driesch in his paper "Wild Life in Ancient Khingar, Mustang" has given his analytical report on the faunal assemblage of wild animals found in the Dzong Khola Valley situated halfway between Kagbeni and Muktinath. The bones of the wild animals are referred as the archaeological evidence for locally extinct animal species in the Valley. Under the direction of Dr. H. G. Hüttel (KAVA, Bonn) excavations were carried out in 1991 and 1992 in the old settlement mound of Khingar. On the basis of observations three periods of settlement have been established. The first settling period (I) was limited to the centre of the mound. Its inhabitation probably ended during the second century. More extended habitation has been observed in the second period (II) (3rd/4th to 8th century AD), and the subsequent period (III) has been dated approximately from the 10th to the 13th/14th century.

During the excavations a great amount of faunal materials was sampled. It consists of bones of slaughtered and hunted animals which are considered as kitchen refuse of the former settlers. The total number of bone fragments of the ancient village exceeds 18,000 bone specimens. The extensive sample provided the bone specimens of the domesticated as well as wild animals.

The author makes mention of the following species of the wild animals out of these extraordinary remains :

1. Water-buffalo, *Bubalus bubatis domestica*

2. Himalayan tahr, *Hemitragus jemlaicus*
3. Goral, *Nemorhaedus goral*
4. Red deer, *Montiacus montjak*
5. Barking deer, *Motiacus muntjak*
6. Wild boar, *Sus scrofa*
7. Himalayan weasel, *Mustela sibirica*
8. Weasel, *Mustela nivalis*

The author further remarks that the presence of these species in question not only contributes to our knowledge of their former zoo-geographic distribution, it also helps to reconstruct the former landscape and the natural environment of the Valley at the time of its early occupation.

The author has elaborately discussed zoo-geographic distribution of the Valley and natural habitat of the wild animals with comparative pictures of such habitats in other parts of the globe.

Dr. Ernst Pohl and Mr. Chandra Prasad Tripathee in their preliminary report of the campaign 1994 entitled "Excavation at Garab-Dzong, District Mustang" give an account of the investigation of the settlement processes in the Kali Gandaki Valley and its tributaries. Besides the settlement on the Muktinath Valley, the researchers located the largest of the castles and fortified settlements at Garab-Dzong in southern Mustang. It lies in the estuary of the Langbo Kyung in the Kali Gandaki Valley. By virtue of its location it commands the north-south route through the Valley and the route towards the east through Mesokanto pass on the way to Manang. It is located on a hill, a few kilometers southwest of Jomsom. On the plateau of the hill the researchers find remains of a fortified settlement and several freestanding fragmentary concentric walls. On three sides the slopes are steep as 45°.

The researchers make mention of the *Chimang Bem-chag* which gives an account of the erection of the fortification of Garab-Dzong. Bemchang is a written village record. Quoting Thak Khola (*Bem-chag*) they say that a local kingdom with the name *Sum* extended its border to the Lubra Valley in the north, Chimang in the south and as far as the Pass to Manang in the east and also make mention of the existence of *Se-Rib*. They further say that *Chimang Bem-chag* gives an account of the erection of the fortification of Garab-Dzong which was at the place where an older complex existed.

The report gives an account of the findings of the excavations of Garab-Dzong. To refer to the report Garab-Dzong possesses several archaeological advantages.

Firstly, there was no subsequent building activity on the site. During the first surveys it was noted that within the walls themselves often wooden beams and boards are preserved which proved to be an excellent source of dendrochronological information. Judging by the visible walls only nearly 50 house units on the upper plateau can be identified. The main goal of the first campaign of excavation was the determination of the chronological range of settlement in Garab-Dzong.

The report mentions that the oldest wood sample measured till now in the Dendrochronological laboratory of the University of Cologne reveals a founding of the fortified settlement in the first half of the 16th century A.D. On the strength of the dendro dates available upto now the rebuilding took place in the first half of the 17th century. The wood sample indicates nearly uninterrupted building activity till the end of the 18th century. It was abandoned during the 19th century. Recently several samples of charcoal are available for 14C dating.

In course of archaeological excavation 25,000 sherds were recorded. The iron and bronze objects which include costumes and adornments such as belt buckles, two fragments of bronze bangles or finger rings were also found. On the findings noteworthy are the beads of clay, coral and glass and copper coins.

To conclude, the report mentions that it is a fortified complex dating the first half of the 16th century. It is guessed that the settlement was abandoned in the 19th century. Within this period of occupation different rebuilding phases can be marked. The excavation campaign has not yet been complete. Still the archaeologists are looking for earlier architectural remains.

Dr. Charles Ramble and Dr. Christian Seeber in their paper entitled "Dead and Living Settlements in the Shöyul of Mustang" gives an account of demographic pattern of Shöyul and cultural interaction of ethnic groups in southern Mustang.

To begin with, the authors say that the nineteen villages of Mustang district comprise the enclave known as Baragaon. In most part of it the people are Tibetan speaking. The five settlements located north of Jiri and south of Samar are known as Shöyul. The inhabitants over there speak Tibeto-Burman language known as *Seke* (Tib. *se-skad*). The people of Panchgaon and Thak, south of Baragaon were referred as *Ur-Thakalis*.

The authors mention that the aim of the research was to provide brief description of the abandoned and inhabited sites and to summarize the available literary and oral accounts concerning the migration of the people into and out of the enclave.

The authors give detail evaluation of the five Seke speaking villages collectively referred as the Shöyul (Tib. *Shod-yul*). The following are the different names of the main settlements in and around the Shöyul :

Nepali	Seke	Tibetan
Tangbe	Tangbe	Taye
Chusang	Tshugsang	Tshug
Tetang	Timi	Te
Chaile	Tangle	Tsele
Ghyaka	Gyuga	Gyaga
Jhong	Muga	Dzong

To conclude, the authors make mention of the process how the language and culture of Tibetan speaking rulers from the north has eclipsed the older non-Tibetan culture and how the *Seke* speaking people abandoned their village.

Dr. Christoph Cüppers in his article, "Short Remarks on the Caves at Tabo in Spiti", has given an account of Tabo Chos Khor of India which has not been archaeologically explored. He compares its cave system with that of Mustang.

In his article Dr. C. Cüppers says that the town and monastery of Tabo are located in a valley of the Spiti river, India. The river flows along the edge of the plateau on which the town and its fields are situated. Opposite the town on the northern side lies the exposed cliff containing caves. These caves all lie at the same height and can be reached from the road over a gradually ascending path.

To quote the author, "probably the caves were first noted by Francke for the first time". Guiseppe Tucci visited the monastery and the villages of Tabo for three days (18-21 July, 1933) and had mentioned about the caves. In 1970's Romi Khosla visited the region and described the caves. When the caves were studied in July 1994, out of three only one cave dwelling was existing. The study process of decay has been halted by Indian government by declaring it as a protected cultural heritage site. The author says that Handa was the first person to declare it an artificial cave not a natural one. Handa also found several potsherds in the cave.

The author further remarks that "I noted close similarities between them and the caves investigated in southern Mustang." "In Tabo, as in Mustang, traces could be found of old hearths, niches, seats, grain storage areas."

Archaeological investigation has not been carried out in the caves of Tabo in the Spiti river valley. Description of the cave has been illustrated by the pictures.

Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas

Part II

—Dieter Schuh

in Collaboration with
Wangdu Lama

4. Governmental organisation structures in South Mustang in the 18th century

4.1. Democratic city-states south of Kagbeni

As specified above, by Thak Khola I refer to the district stretching from Baragaon 30 km. south to Gasa. We have already been able to establish that in the 18th century this area enjoyed a certain autonomy or independence from its neighbours, Parbat to the South and Mustang to the North. Politically the area was divided again in the 18th century into three separate units, *Thak*, *Som-bu* (Thini) and *sPun-khris* (Marpha).

There exists a comprehensive body of ethnographic research on the Thak Khola, on which I need not report in greater detail here.[1] For the following investigation, attention need only be called to the following:

1. The inhabitants of this region lived mainly by trading between Tibet and Nepal, in addition to agriculture. The Thak Khola owes most of its noticeably above-average prosperity to the lively trading activities of its inhabitants. It thus follows that the largest group of inhabitants of the Thak Khola, known nowadays as the Thakalis, were also prominent as traders in the 18th century.

2. In this century many Thakalis have migrated from the Thak Khola, so this ethnic group has spread across the whole of Nepal. As even the current figures on the size of this ethnic group are very inexact, it is practically impossible to give more precise information on the sizes of the populations of the three political units of the Thak

Khola in the 18th century. If we go by the current figures, it is possible to make a very rough estimate of the maximum population size in the 18th century: for *Thaks* the population could be given as approximately 2000, whereas *sPun-khris* and *Sombu* can be estimated to have had 300 - 400 inhabitants each.

In comparison with the numerous ethnological works on the Thak Khola, in the field of historical research there is up to now only one scholarly serious piece of work that contributes to the history of the Thak Khola in question here.[2] It comprises a facsimile edition and translation of a historical document drawn up in Tibetan script and Tibetan language, furnished with a detailed introduction, and published under the title "The Bem-chag Village Record and The Early History of Mustang District", by Charles A.E. Ramble and Michael Vinding.[3]

Ramble and Vinding refer to the text that they worked on as *bem-ćhag*, and state that the original is kept in the settlement of Cimang. Many versions of this *bem-ćhag* of very similar content are kept in Thini and Marpha. I was able to photograph the versions in Marpha and Shyang myself during my exploration in April 1989. Comparing these versions from Marpha and Shyang with the manuscript from Cimang shows that all the versions are copies of the same text. In the title of their investigation, Ramble and Vinding describe the *bem-ćhag* as a "village record". They develop this notion further as a "local account of the history of the kingdom of Sumbo Garabdzong".[4] Elsewhere, we read of a "translation of the *bem-ćhag*, village record of Sum Garabdzong".[5] These definitions clearly suggest uncertainty in regard to the meaning of the term *bem-ćhag* and the definitions of the different areas of the Thak Khola region as political units.

In attempting to find the meaning of the term *bem-ćhag*, I would like to compare the Cimang Text with similar texts from Kagbeni and Marpha. These I was able to photograph in 1986 and 1987.[6] Both handwritten texts are bound in the form of booklets. The Kagbeni text describes itself in its title as *yul gyi bems-ćhags*, whereas the Marpha text calls itself in its title *mar-phag yul lhen-kyes* [= *lhan-rgyas*] *gi* [= *kyi*] *bem-ćhag*. Both texts contain the basic laws of the two regions. Therefore they can be characterised also as "basic law texts" or "constitutions". The Kagbeni text also deals very briefly, under a chapter headed *skag-pa yul-pa'i ćhags-rabs*, with historical events about the foundation of the political order of the area concerned. I have to point out here that the history of the creation of a legal order is of great importance for its justification and continuation.[7]

The term in question here is also found spelt *bem-gźag* in two 15th century royal decrees from western Tibet.[8] In the first of these royal orders (Schuh 5, document XXXVIII, 1), the term in question is mentioned as the designation for a royal charter and is characterised as a loanword from the Mongolian language (*hor kyi skad*). The same document (line 15) mentions a *bem-gźag-ćhen-mo*, a decree containing prescriptions about payment of taxes and so on. In the second of these documents (Schuh 5, document XXXIX, 15) a *bem-gźag rñiṅ-pa* is mentioned. From this I conclude firmly that the term *bem-ćhag*, or *bem-gźag*, is a loanword from the Mongolian, and apparently corresponds with the Mongolian *bićig*[9]. It was used - apparently mainly in western Tibet - as the name of a royal charter and a judicial decree or a basic lawbook important for the public.[10]

If we now examine the Cimang *bem-ćhag*, it

can be seen that the section containing the historical explanations is much more extensive than in the Kag Bemchag. Furthermore, it does not fix the legal order or the legal obligations of a certain place as done by the Kag Bemchag and Marpha Bemchag, but rather describes the inter-state relationships between the various settlements of the Thak Khola. In one instance it even gives the entire text of a treaty that determined the inter-state relationships between the three most powerful independently ruled units (*yul-sgo gsum*) of the Thak Khola in the 18th century, that is, *Thags*, *gSum-po* and *sPun-dgri* [= *sPun-khris*, Marpha]. The fact that the Cimang *bem-ćhag* describes the arrangement of the inter-state laws of the Thak Khola[11] also explains why copies of this text are to be found in all the settlements of northern Thak Khola.

This basic features of the Cimang *bem-ćhag* lead to the second problem addressed above, that is how these areas of *Thags*, *gSum-po* and *sPun-khris* are to be treated in the terms of political units. Considering their participation in interstate peace settlements and looking at the treaties recorded in the Cimang *bem-ćhag*, which settled disputes among this places, the classification as villages as given by Vinding and Ramble is not acceptable. All three of them should be treated as petty states that played a particular role in the western Nepal federal union presided over by Jumla. At this point the comparative small number of inhabitants of these settlement may be used as an argument against this classification. To ensure that this argument is given sufficient consideration, we shall have a look at comparable petty states of western Nepal. According to Stiller (p. 83), Nuwakot comprised 600 households, Bajhang 700 and Gajur only 140. Viewed thus, *Thags*, *gSum-po* and *sPun-khris* do not appear to have been of unusually small size.

Out of these three petty states *Thags* covers the largest area, containing many villages.[12] *sPun-khris*, or the present-day Marpha, gained independence when it split from *gSum-po*, which originally comprised all the five settlements (*yul-kha lṅa*) north of Thugche.

Correspondingly, only the petty states of *Thags* and *gSum-po* appear as parties of the earliest treaties, recorded in the Cimang *bem-ćhag*.[13] The treaties between *Thags* and *gSum-po* were mainly concerned with defining the border between the two states, and with the exchange of serfs and livestock that had respectively fled or strayed from one territory to the other. The oldest treaty between *Thags* and *gSum-po*, handed down in the Cimang *bem-ćhag* partly by a verbatim quotation, concerns the latter of the above-mentioned treaty topics. The treaty must have been drawn up before 1705, as by this year, as we know from the above edited and translated Document 6, the northern part of the Thak Khola was already divided in two parts. The partial reproduction of the text of the treaty is headed by the following remark:[14]

thag daṅ gsum-pa'i rgam-śag la
"In the treaties[15] between *Thag* and *gSum-pa* (it is ordered)"

The text of the treaty (Document 8) runs as follows:

3 (thags) nas 'khor-yog gsuṃ-po 'du sleb na, kraṃ 1 za-rgyu (yin-no)/
4 rta rñed yaṅ kraṃ 1 za-rgyu yin/, g.yag bris bha rñed na yaṅ bya'u gñis (yin no)/, gsuṃ-pa'i 'khor-g.yog
5 thag 'du 'gro na yaṅ srol 'de raṅ (yin-no)/,

phya-spaṅ thag-pa'i rgan-pa'i rgan-pa bsaṅ-la-ćhos-skyab spaṅ-po (yod-do)/

6 mar-(phags) nas rgan-pa cu-ka-li (yod-do)/

3 'khor-g.yog gsum-po ru, ṭam 1 za-rgyu 4 ṭam 1, g.yag 'bri ba 5 thag tu, srol de raṅ, phyag-dpaṅ, dpaṅ-po

Translation

"If a serf (*'khor-g.yog*) (fleeing) from *Thags* arrives in *gSum-po*, one *Ṭam* is to be charged (for the return).[16] In the event that one finds a horse, one *Ṭam* is to be charged (for the return). If one finds a yak bull, a yak cow or an ox, (the charge) is two *Bya'u*.

In the event that a serf belonging to *gSum-po* runs (away) to *Thag*, the same applies.

The witnesses were the *rGan-pa* from *Thag bSaṅ-la-ćhos-skyab*, and the *rGan-pa* from *Mar-phags Cu-ka-li*."

The fact that the elder of *Thag* and of *Mar-phags* appear here as witnesses can be taken as an indication that the act of agreeing on certain rules and regulations between the two petty states and its recording in a written agreement were two different activities. It seems to be quite certain that the agreement was reached in an assembly of representatives of the two parties concerned first and thereby officially enacted by swearing an oath and that its recording took place afterwards.

It is interesting to note that *gSum-po* was represented in the recording of this treaty by an elder from Marpha. This proves clearly that Marpha still belonged to *gSum-po* at this time.

Another treaty (Document 8), is recorded completely in the subsequent parts of the Cimang *bem-ćhag*. It originates from a time when the northern section of the Thak Khola was already divided into two petty states.[17] It was drawn up in a Fire-Ox Year (*me-mo-glaṅ*), corresponding either with 1637, 1697 or 1757. From the fact that four *rGan-pa* of Marpha are mentioned here I conclude that 1697 was the year in which the treaty was drawn up.

The treaty deals not only with the return of runaway slaves and cattle, but also with the mutual support of the petty states in case of threats from outside. It also contains a mutual agreement on procedures of negotiation with the *rgyal-po*, the supreme authority. Obviously this authority was either the King of Jumla or the King of Parbat; Mustang is ruled out by the fact that its rulers were usually referred to as *sde-pa*.

The copy of the text of the treaty found in the Cimang *bem-ćhag* is preceded by the following introduction that lists the three parties to the treaty, *Thag*, *mThin* (Thini) and *sPun-gri* (Marpha).[18]

(bkra-śis) don grub-pa'i lha la phyag 'chal-lo /, thag-khub-chan mthin-ma-bu-(bdrugs), spun-gri-'oṅ-dag-mo/, gsuṃ gyi ćhod-yig bris-bdon la/,

"Prostration before the deities, by whom good luck is procured. In regard to the contents of the record of an arbitration treaty[19] between these three, *Thag-khub-chan*, *mThin-ma-bu-bdrugs* and *sPun-gri-'oṅ-dag-mo*:"

Text of the treaty (Document 9):

[p. 45]

1 me-mo-glaṅ-lo spre zla-ba'i che gsuṃ la/ yul-

2 go gsuṃ gyi rgan-pa khar-spon bka'-'gros

chaṃs nas (yi-ge) 'bris bdon la/, gal-te gsuṃ-po yul-
3 pa la/, mi-źen gyis sṅan-ćan 'byed-pa 'byuṅ na/, thag yul-pa daṅ, dpuṅ-dgris yul-pas (brgyab)
4 byed-rgyu yin, yaṅ thag yul-pa la sṅan-ćan byed-pa 'byuṅ naṅ/, gsum-po yul-pa daṅ, dpuṅ-gris yul-pas
5 (brgyab) byed-rgyu yin/, dpuṅ-gris yul-pa la, sṅan-ćan byed-pa 'byuṅ na, thag gsuṃ-po gñis kyis (brgyab)
6 byed-rgyu yin/, (rgyal)-po'i bdruṅ du sus bźus-bdon la phyin kyaṅ/, sus sṅan la sleb kyaṅ spyi-bdon
7 źu dgos ćiṅ phra-ma byed-sa med/, yul-phyog gaṅ 'du yaṅ yul-go gsuṃ la/, gnod-pa'i phra-ma byed-
8 rgyu 'byuṅ na/, yul-go gsum-dkar kyi 1 rgyab ćig gis ter dgos so/, yul-go gsuṃ naṅ 'du kyaṅ 1 gis
9 phra-mo 1 gis byed-rgyu mi yoṅ/, yul-go gsuṃ kyi bran-g.yog su'i car sleb kyaṅ ṭaṃ 1 za-rgyu yin
10 bdud-gro ćhe-ćhuṅ gaṅ rñed kyaṅ nas zo (re-re) za-rgyu (yin- no)/, de-las lhag-ma bza' zer nas mi log na/
11 sla yaṅ med ćiṅ, rgan-pa'i ston nas bter-rgyu (yin-no)/, sñed nas ma sñed zer naṅ/, su'i sug na rkun-
12 mor 'gyur ćiṅ/, ćhal rgan-pa yul-go gsuṃ-pa'i źes-rgyu (yin-no)/, nor-bdag la gter-rgyu (yin-no)/
13 ra-lug sñed nas (źags) bću soṅ nas/, rcar-ćod ma 'byuṅ na za-rgyu (yin-no)/, de la 'a-ru byed-gyu med-do/, de-ltar
14 byed-pa'i bris-pa'i (yi-ge) naṅ ltar su'i ma nas-pa byuṅ na/, grnar-spaṅ la ćhos kyi ćhos-skyoṅ/, bon kyi bon-skyoṅ

2 sgo gsum, mkhar-dpon bka'-gros 'ćhams, yi-ge bris-don 3 mi-gźan, ṅan-ćan byed-pa, yul-pas rgyab 4 ṅan-ćan, 'byuṅ-na 5 rgyab byed-rgyu, ṅan-ćan, kyi rgyab 6 druṅ du sus źus-don, sus sṅon, spyi-don 7 yul-phyogs gaṅ du, yul-sgo 8 yul-sgo gsum-ka, gćig gis bster, yul-sgo gsum naṅ-du, 1 gi 9 phra-ma, yul-sgo, su'i rcar 10 dud-'gro 11 gla yaṅ, rgan-pas bton nas ster-rgyu, brñed nas ma brñed zer na, 12 yul-sgo gsum-pas bźes-rgyu, ster-rgyu 13 brñed nas źag, rcad-gćod, byed-rgyu 14 de-ltar byas-pas, sus ma gnas-pa, mna'-dpaṅ, bon gyi

[p. 46]

1 'jig-sten kyis lha klu bźi-bdag/, gaṅ sten kyis pho-lha dgra-lha rnaṃs kyis/, rma nas-pa rnaṃs la ćhad-
2 pa 'drag-po ćod ćig/, gnas-pa rnaṃs la byin gyi brlabs du gsol/, de-ltar (g.yig-ge) 'bris-dus/
3 thag kyi rgan-pa ṅes-thed-lćaṅ/, (gal-bu)-(bkra-śis)/, be-thed-lćan, (brgyal)-mjed-raṃ/, mis-sna mar-khus-
4 lćaṅ, ṅes-thed-grub-śiṅ, kyi-mo-che-riṅ/, dar-ma-che-riṅ/, de-rnaṃs kyis (rtags) Z, gsuṃ-po'i rgan-pa
5 ṅes-thed-(bkra-śis)/, padma-(bkra-śis)/, gsuṃ-thed-lha-bdrug/, mis-sna a-ya-srid-gsabs/, lha-sab-
6 (bkra-śis)/, che-sten-(kun-chaṅ?)-(rin-ćhen), (brgyam)-'chog-(bkra-śis)/, che-dar-ćhos-skyabs/, (rcogs)-bdrug-ga-
7 ra-ćhos-skyabs/, ćhos-(rgyud)-gsuṃ-thed, (rin-ćhen)-che-dbaṅ, de-rnaṃs kyis (rtags), Z/, spun-dgris'i rgan-pa
8 (khro-'o)-g.yuṅ-druṅ/, dpon-po-sa-rten/, (rdo-rje)-che-riṅ/, ga-cu-lha/, mi-sna ga-ra-(bkra-śis)/, chaṅ-

9 hu-lćaṅ,/ gos-che-riṅ/, lha-rnaṃs-bkra-śis/, mga'-so-rnaṃs, de rnaṃs kyis (rtags)Z,

1 'jig-rten gyi, gźi-bdag, gaṅ brten gyi, ma gnas-pa 2 drag-po, byin gyis brlab tu, yi-ge 'bri-dus 4 kyi rtags 7 kyi rtags 9 kyi rtags

Translation

"As the *rGan-pa* and *mKhar-dpon*[20] of the three countries reached an agreement in a meeting on the third day of the Monkey Month of the Female-Fire-Ox Year, the (following) document has been recor-ded:

In the event that the inhabitants of *gSum-po* are attacked by foreigners[21], the inhabitants of *Thag* and of *dPuṅ-dgris* must support them.

Further, in the event that the inhabitants of *Thag* are attacked, the inhabitants of *gSum-po* and *dPuṅ-gris* must support them.

If the inhabitants of *dPuṅ-gris* are attacked, the inhabitants of *Thag* and *gSum-po* must support them.

Whenever anyone goes to address the King, whoever arrives first must bring up forward the concerns of all and not commit slander.

If in (another) country harmful slander is committed towards all of the three states, all three states must give mutual support to each other.

It must not happen within the three states that one (state) commits slander against the other (state).

If a serf from one of the three states arrives in one of the others, (the latter) has to charge a *Ṭam* (for the return).

If anyone finds a beast, be it large or small, (the finder) can levy a *Zo(-ba-*measure) of barley.

If anyone says, "I want more than this," and hands nothing over, he receives no payment, and the *rGan-pa* must recover (the serf or beast) and return it (to the owner).

If anyone says, "I haven't found anything," although he has found something, the one who is holding it is considered to be a thief. *Ćhal*[22] is to be collected from the elder of all the three states. It must be handed over to the owner of the animal.

If anyone finds a goat or a sheep, and within ten days, no search has been made for it, (the one who has found the animal) is allowed to keep it. In this case, no complaint must be raised.

If someone does not behave in accordance with the contents of this letter which was written after (all) enacted (the agreement) accordingly, the witness of the vow, (that is) the Dharmapāla of the (Buddhist) religion, the Bon-protector of the Bon(-religion), the *lHa*, *Klu* and *gŹi-bdag* of this world and the *Pho-lha* and *dGra-lha*, on whom someone relies, will punish those who do not behave accordingly, with harsh punishments.

We request them to bless those who act accordingly.

When this document was written down accordingly, seal of the *rGan-pa* of *Thag Ṅes-thed-lćaṅ*, *Gal-bu-bkra-śis*, *Be-thed-lćaṅ* and *brGyal-mjed-ram* as well of different people (like) *Mar-khus-lćaṅ*, *Ṅes-thed-grub-śiṅ*, *Kyi-mo-che-riṅ* and *Dar-ma-che-riṅ*.

Seal of the *rGan-pa* of *gSum-po Ṅes-thed-bkra-śis*, *Padma-bkra-śis* and *gSum-thed-lha-bdrug* as well as of different people (like) *A-ya-srid-gsabs*, *lHa-sab-bkra-śis*, *Che-sten-kun-chaṅ-rin-ćhen*, *brGyam-'chog-bkra-śis*, *Che-dar-ćhos-skyabs*, *rCogs-bdrug-ga-ra-ćhos-skyabs*, *Ćhos-(rgyud)-gsuṃ-thed* and *Rin-ćhen-che-dbaṅ*.

Seal of the *rGan-pa* of *sPun-dgris Khro-'o-*

g.yuṅ-druṅ, *dPon-po-sa-rten*, *rDo-rje-che-riṅ*, and *Ga-cu-lha*, as well as of different people (like) *Ga-ra-bkra-śis*, *Chaṅ-hu-lćaṅ*, *Gos-che-riṅ*, *lHa-rnams-bkra-śis* and *mGa'-so-rnams*."

As far as the internal organization of these petty states is concerned, I found in Marpha a written law book, entitled "Commonly (enacted) *Bem-ćhag* of the country *Mar-phag*". The value of this book as an important source for the study of the structure of the petty states in the Thak Khola cannot be overestimated.

I photographed the *Mar-phag Bem-ćhag* in 1987 in three versions, to which I will refer henceforward as MB1, MB2, and MB3. MB1 and MB2 both contain in their main texts the same law book, passed on the 3rd day of the 7th month in a Fire-Dragon Year by a full assembly of the citizens (*yul-mi*) of Marpha. It seems highly likely that the Fire-Dragon Year in question is 1796. It is this law book of 1796 that we shall refer to as the Marpha Bemchag.

Out of the two manuscripts, MB1 and MB2, MB1 is probably the older version. MB1, however, is certainly not the original that was passed by the assembly of the citizens in 1796, as according to the introduction to the Marpha Bemchag this has been furnished with seals at the end of the text. MB2 is probably a later 2nd draft of the original text.

Both MB1 and MB2 contain later appendices, setting down amendments to the Marpha Bemchag. These amendments were recorded on pages or half pages of the manuscript that were originally left blank. The appendices in MB2 are generally older than those in MB1. It seems that this is because the amendments to legal regulations were often recorded as special documents, but subsequently added to MB1 and later, when MB1 had no space left, to MB2. This theory is also supported by the fact that, accordingly, no common records of later legal amendments are to be found in MB1 or MB2.

The bulk of the main text of MB3 is an only partially preserved precursor of the Marpha Bemchag of 1796. Besides this it contains pages with numerous supplements. On page 4, the date of one of the old legal agreements integrated into the main text is referred to as Earth-Horse Year, which could indicate the year 1738. Thus the main text may have originated between 1738 and 1796.

The language of the Marpha Bemchag is a combination of the Tibetan dialect of South Mustang and classical Tibetan, in the writing of which the orthographical rules of classical Tibetan were largely disregarded. Inconsistencies in the spelling of the same words are commonplace. This gives rise to particular difficulties in interpreting the text, especially as the text contains many words borrowed from Thakali and Nepali.

On the title page of MB1 and MB2 we find the following remark:

1 Z mar-phag yul lhen-kyes gi bem-ćhag (źugs)-soṅ /
2 yul-ćhog ldi ru bkri-pa ldon grub-pa źu leg-par śog / bskri-śog /
3 ki-ki so-so lha-(gyal-lo)

"Herein is contained the basic law (*bem-ćag*) of *Mar-phag* (decided) by (the citizen of) the country. We request, that in this area, happiness and effectiveness may prevail. May (everything) be good. May luck prevail. *Ki-ki, so-so*! May the gods be victorious!"

The particular nature of the bringing into force

of the basic laws is described in the introductory passage of the legal text, which is presented below:

1 Z med-pho grug-lo zla-ba 7 pa'i che 3 re-za 2 ñin / goń-ma mi-byed ćhen-po gan
2 gan-ćhan-po nol / rco j́es mi-thus kar-ma dań mi-thus ćhos-(rgyal-chan) dań mi-thus (pedma)-khron dań
3 mi-thus bha-stur mi-ćhan mi-grag mar-phag yul-mi lhan-kyes / ka-gros thog nas / sńon-
4 khyun-star / spes-srol nań-źin / bem-ćag (yig-gi) bris-don la / bam-(ćhags) (yig-ge) nań-źin la yul-
5 mi lhen chang-ma su yin na dbyes-ka dbyun-gri / pha-ka bu-bri 'u-blang-pa byes med-(ćhogs) zer-pa'i
6 yul-mi lhan (phyags)-(rtags) /

"On the day of the 2nd weekday of the 7th month in the male fire-dragon-year (1796) the assembly of the *Mi-ćhen*, the *Mi-drag* and of all the citizens of the country (*yul-mi*), headed firstly by the "The Supreme One" (*goń-ma*), the "great ruler" (*mi-rj́e ćhen-po*), the elder, the great elder (*rgan ćhen-po*) *Nol* and (headed) secondly by the *mi-thus Karma*, *mi-thus Ćhos-ldan*, *mi-thus Padma khron* and the *mi-thus Bha-ldur* took place and subsequently (the following) text, containing the basic law book (*bem-ćhag*) was written down in accordance with the old tradition and the common law. Except for (the obedience to) what is in accordance with this text, the basic law book, none of all the citizen (of Marpha) will be allowed to ascribe what is right to the left or to ascribe the affairs of the father to the son. Pronouncing this, the seal of all citizens (was attached)."

This account of the enactment of the basic laws reveals a very interesting and quite unique democratic structure of the constitution of Marpha. The decision makers in all public affairs were the local people of the region who were also were obliged to hold public positions. It appears that women were not allowed to take over public of-fices and did not take part in political decision making. The citizens (*yul-mi*) formed one group separated from foreigners, who were referred to as *phyi-mi*, and who naturally could not excercise any civil rights.

Not all inhabitants of Marpha had the status of *yul-mi*. Of particular note are the slaves and serfs (*'khor-g.yog* and *bran-g.yog*) referred to in Documents 5 and 6. The Marpha Bemchag of 1796 mentions (fol. 22r) this group only once as *g.yog-po* besides the *bha-do* (Nepali bādha) in a legal regulation, stating that sexual intercourse between women or girls from Marpha and members of these groups was a punishable offense. It has to be mentioned that the same regulation forbids sexual intercourse with foreigners (*phyi-mi*).

A vital pointer in the assessment of the political significance of the Marpha Bemchag is found in the back page of the front envelope. Here it is stated that each citizen of Marpha has the right to borrow the text against the deposit of a sum of money of one A-na. Thus it was guaranteed that any citizen who had legal problems could consult the basic laws at any time.

The Marpha Bemchag of 1796 is divided into formally and thematically fairly clearly distinguished sections that we can refer to as paragraphs. There is no particular enumeration of these sections. The individual sections generally begin with a new page. It is also sometimes common to mark the beginning of such new sections with large spacing from the preceding text. Their thematic

orientation is clarified by a suitable introductory remark. Thus the 1st paragraph begins with the words *mi-thus kor-nas*, "concerning the *Mi-thus*," the 2nd with the wording, *gan-pa'i kor-nas* "concerning the *rGan-pa*," and the 3rd with *ka-'cha kor-nas*, "concerning legal disputes."

In paragraphs that refer not to the duties of particular office holders, but contain regulations to be followed by everyone, the terms *kor* or *skor* are replaced by *srol* "practice". Before dealing with the political system of Marpha in a more detailed manner, I shall introduce the contents of the Marpha Bemchag in accordance with the individual paragraphs:

[§ 1, fol. 1v,6] Official duties of the Mi-thus (*mi-thus kor-nas*)

Listing of the official duties of the office holders referred to as *Mi-thus* and of the the penalties to be paid for violations of these duties.

[§ 2, fol. 2v] Official duties of the *rGan-pa* (*rgan-pa'i kor-nas*)

Regulations regarding payments and so forth to be furnished to the *rGan-pa*; regulations concerning legal proceedings against the *rGan-pa*; general tariffs to be paid in court procedures; in legal proceedings foreign courts of appeal were generally not permitted.

[§ 3, fol. 3v] Official duties of the official referred to as *Rol-po* (*rol-pa'i kor-nas*).

[§ 4, fol. 5r] Regulations concerning the use of the forest: regulations concerning the collection of pine-needles and pine-cones, beginning each year on the 20th calendar day of the 4th month and ending on the 20th day of the 9th month (*san rub-pa'i rol*).

[§ 5, fol. 5v,4] Regulations concerning the use of the forests: Regulations concerning the felling of trees (*ldoṅ-po ċod-pa'i srol*). This paragraph contains a general ban on the felling of trees in specific forest areas, except for house-building. In certain areas only poplars could be felled for house-building. The removal of bark from trees is a punishable offense.

[§ 6, fol. 6v] Regulations regarding the cultivation of fields, usage of the edges of fields, and sending cattle into the fields (*nol staṅ-pa'i srol*).

[§ 7, fol. 7v,3] Regulations concerning the use of the manure of the herds of cattle belonging to Marpha.

[§ 8, fol. 8r] Regulations to fix wages for weaving and fieldwork. Anyone paying more than the wages established here would be punished.

[§ 9, fol. 8r,5] Restrictions to the storage of commodities such as grain and salt by traders from Thags in private households in Marpha.

[§ 10, fol. 8v] Regulations concerning the big animal sacrifice of 17 goats and other religious festivals (*son-se srol*).

[§ 11, fol. 9v] Regulations concerning the performance of the the *sMon-lam*-rituals (*ku-rim byes-pa'i srol*).

[§ 12, fol. 10r] Ban on the monthly festival being

celebrated at the 10th day of each month.

[§ 13, fol. 10r,5] Ban on crossing fields in the period between sowing and harvest by people in whose house someone just had died.

[§ 14, fol. 1ov] Regulations concerning marriage (*sna-ma len pa'i srol*).

[§ 15, fol .12r] Absolutely binding regulations to limit all trading activities in Marpha to the central trading place (*groṅ-khaṅ gi srol*).

Trading activities outside the *Groṅ-khaṅ* are strictly forbidden. Beasts of burden of all traders must be housed in the *Groṅ-khaṅ*. Goods may only be stored there (see also § 9). The citizens of Marpha are not allowed to do business in the central trading places of *Śaṅ* or *Joṅ-sam*.

[§ 16, fol. 13r] Regulations concerning the payment of cattle herders, who look after the cattle of the citizens of Marpha.

[§ 17, fol. 13v] Regulations for young men and women, participating in the singing and dancing of the *sTo-ran* festival.

[§ 18, fol. 15r] Regulations to fix the prices for the purchase of yak bulls and cows (*g.yag gi srol*).

[§ 19, fol. 15v,3] Ban against the selling of salt to, and its purchase from beer sellers from Thukche and other settlements south of Marpha.

[§ 20, fol. 16r] People setting out on a journey should not be given beer, etc. on their departure.

[§ 21, fol. 16r,4] Ban against foreigners beating drums, singing or dance in Marpha at particular times.

[§ 22, fol. 16v] Modes of behaviour useful to prevent hail damage.

[§ 23, fol. 17r] Fees for using certain paths to drive yaks on the mountain *Śa-chaṅ ri* (*lam-rin srol*).

[§ 24, fol. 17v] Regulations for the payment of taxes by the households of Marpha (*groṅ-pa'i srol*). The tax burden of a household is to be paid by the parents and devolves on their death on the youngest son.

[§ 25, fol. 17v.4] Taxation of beer taverns.

[§ 26, fol. 18r,3] Regulations concerning the burial of the dead.

[§ 27, fol. 18v] Regulations for the payment of a penalty by those who leave the monastery.

[§ 28, fol. 18v,3] If someone fails to cultivate the fields belonging to him and situated in more elevated areas of Marpha, then anybody is allowed to cultivate them as long as he pays the taxes.

[§ 29, fol. 19r] Regulations concerning maintenance of the reservoirs and the usage of water (*jiṅ-ṅu gi srol*).

[§ 30, fol. 19v,2] Regulations concerning the end of the obligations to assume public offices at the age of 60 years (*thar-ćaṅ ston-pa'i srol*).

[§ 31, fol. 20r, 4] Additional regulations regarding office of the *rGan-pa* (*rgan-pa'i srol*). Obligations of the *Rol-po* to accompany the *rGan-pa* on his private journeys. Duty of the *rGan-pa* to be present personally during the collection of taxes. Special taxes to be levied for the rGan-pa.

[§ 32, fol. 20v] Regulations concerning the herding of cattle (*dun-grugs gi srol*): During the time of the herding of the cattle in the pastures the animals should only in exceptional cases be left in Marpha.

[§ 33, fol. 21r] Regulations concerning the distribution of the meat of the annually slaughtered sheep.

[§ 34, fol. 21r, 5] Punishments for those who do not not take part in the meetings of all citizens.

[§ 35, fol. 21v] The obligation to take up public office begins from the age of 18. Regulation concerning the boarding costs of public office holders from public resources during the assemblies.

[§ 36, fol. 21v,5] Regulations concerning the delivery of hay to the *rGan-pa*.

[§ 37, fol. 22r] Prohibition against incest, and ban of sexual intercourse of women with foreigners, slaves and bonded serfs. By-products of spirit distilleries must not be thrown out on the streets.

[§ 38, fol. 22v] Rules for the change in office of the *Ćhos-khrims-pa* who is responsible for discipline in the monastery (*ćhos-grum pos-pa'i srol*).

[§ 39, fol. 23r] Obligation to drink beer at the annual festival of the relatives of the father.

[§ 40, fol. 23r,3] Confirmation that the land on which Marpha's night quarters for travelers were built belongs to the general public.

[§ 41, fol. 23,r6] The state-owned matchlock has to be kept in the custody of the holders of public offices.

[§ 42, fol. 23v] Supplement from the *Ćhu-phag* Year 1803/04: New regulations on taxes. This concerns the financing of the ceremony for the change in the office of the *rGan-ćhen* (which takes place after three years) and of the *Mi-thus* (which takes place every year) only.

[§ 43, fol. 24r] Regulations concerning the offerings for the God *Ka-toṅ-ko-loṅ*.

[§ 44, fol. 24,r4] Regulations concerning the safekeeping of the land registers by the eight *Mi-ćhen*.

[§ 45, fol. 25r] Further regulations concerning the driving of cattle onto harvested fields and the supervision of fields by the Rol-po.

[§ 46, fol. 25r] Ban on the cultivation of fields in certain areas. Regulations concerning the collecting of taxes. Obligation of the *Mi-thus* and the *Rol-po* to take part in the construction of a bridge over the Kali Gandaki.

[§ 47, fol. 26r] Regulations concerning the handing over of bounty to the bride-to-be. Regulations concerning divorce. Conditions for the opening of a beer tavern by foreigners who have settled in Marpha.

[§ 48, fol. 26v] Special regulations concerning the collection and felling of wood for the monastery.[23]

The introductory passages of the Marpha Bemchag translated above mention besides the citizen (*yul-mi*) the highest official of the petty state, the "Grand Elder" (*rgan-ćhen*), who was also referred to by the titles *goṅ-ma*, "The Supreme One," and *mi-rje-ćhen-po*, "Great Ruler." Both titles indicate the leading role of the *rGan-ćhen* within the Marpha community, especially as the use of the title *goṅ-ma* was already within region under the influence of Tibet reserved exclusively for the emperor of China.

The period of office of the Great Elder lasted three years. Before taking up the position he had to swear his oath of office before the assembly of all citizens.[23]

The Bemchag does not give any details to answers the following questions:

- how was the *rGan-ćhen* selected?
- was the *rGan-ćhen* selected from a specific social group, or every citizen eligible?
- was a re-election of the *rGan-ćhen* possible after the three year period of office?

In addition to his function as political representative of the petty state, the *rGan-ćhen* was also the state's chief judge. It was possible to register an appeal if anyone disagreed with the decision of the *rGan-ćhen*. In this case the matter would be handed over to a third party, and the *rGan-ćhen* and the four *Mi-thus* appeared henceforth as a party opposing the plaintiff. It is one of the most significant features of the legal system of Marpha that external appeals were generally forbidden.

Despite the fact that in 1796, the year of the ratification of the Bemchag, Marpha belonged to the Kingdom of Gorkha, the Bemchag contained explicit prohibition against lodging legal appeals with the King of Kathmandu.[24] Not until 1808 was a new regulation laid down by a citizens' assembly, that as the only exception to the prohibition against appeal to outside, access to the King of Kathmandu would be permitted.[25]

The outstanding position of the *rGan-ćhen* nevertheless in no way meant that he stood outside or above the legal system of Marpha. If he violated the laws of the state, it was the duty of the four *Mi-thus* to hold a trial against him. In such a case it was their duty to call a meeting of all the citizens of Marpha, who then had to pass judgement on the *rGan-ćhen* together.[26]

The duties of the *rGan-ćhen* included the appointment of the various officials of the state, namely the four *Mi-thus*, the *Min-kya* and ten *Rol-po*. The citizens of Marpha were called up for public positions in a particular order (*rim-pa*)[27], of which no details are found in the Bemchag. If a citizen had reached the age of 18, he generally did not have the option of turning down a public position[28]. Those who had to take up these duties, and those who had to take part in the citizens' assemblies were forced to comply by a system of fines. The upper age limit on those required to carry out public duties was 60. The reaching of this age limit was marked by a celebration (*thar-ćhaṅ* "Exemption-beer"). It seems, however, that the head of a household (*groṅ-pa*) was only made exempt at this age if he had at least one son, who could take over his duties. Anyone not having the *Thar-ćhaṅ* celebration at 60 could not attain dismissal from general official duties again until the age of 71, when he could pay a fine of 51 *dṅul*.[29]

The Marpha Bemchag collectively names all people holding public office as *dMir-sta*[30]. We cannot say here whether the also-mentioned *Mi-ćhen* and *Mi-drag* referred to officials or people of senior social positions. It is worth noting that they are otherwise hardly mentioned in the Marpha Bemchag.

For clarification of the political structure I present the contents of the first three paragraphs of the Bemchag as follows:

[§ 1, fol. 1v, 6] Official duties of the *Mi-thus* (*mi-thus kor-nas*)

Particular official duties of the officials referred to as Mi-thus and the penalties which they can incur by contravening these duties.

The *Mi-thus* must all be present at the collection of the tribute (*śer-sta*, from the Nepali *sirto*) that had to be paid by the state of Marpha. Absent *Mi-thus* incurred the fine of two *dṅul* each. Two *dṅul* was also the fine for any *Mi-thus* not present at the collection of the taxes (*khral*)[31]. Should a *Mi-thus* be absent from a simultaneous collection of both the tribute and the taxes, he incurred the fine of four *dṅul*.

The *Mi-thus* have to be present at the restoration of the irrigation canals for both the cultivation of barley and wheat in the spring and the cultivation of buckwheat in the summer. The fine for absence is one *ṭam*. The same fine must be paid if a *Mi-thus* is absent during the reconstruction of the wooden aqueduct of *sÑe-ra-paṅ*, the reconstruction of the wooden aqueduct of *Bhoṅ-raṅ* or the cleaning of reservoirs.

If a *Mi-thus* wants to leave Marpha to go on a journey, he must first obtain the permission of the *rGan-ćhen*. The fine for travelling without this permission is one *zo-ba* of salt. Out of the four *Mi-thus* at least two must be present in Marpha in summer and in winter; otherwise, a fine of one *dṅul-źo* must be paid. *Mi-thus* setting out on a journey must return to Marpha within 20 days, or incur a fine of one *źo*.

[§ 2, fol. 2v] Official duties of the *rGan-pa* (*gan-pa'i kor-nas*)

Regulations of taxes and so forth to be produced for the rGan-pa.

Three *dṅul* must be paid to him for wearing the special hat of the *rGan-pa* (*dbu-thod*).

To enable his wife (*khyim-dags aṅ-mo= khyim-bdag dbaṅ-mo*) to provide the beer of conduct (*kyal-ćhaṅ* = *bskyal-ćhaṅ*) three *dṅul* must be handed over to her.[31]

For the beer of concuct that the officials (*smir-rtc*)[33] must contribute on the occasion of the delivery of taxes (*khral*), they receive a reimbursement of three *dṅul*. These sums are to be provided by the general public (*yul thog nas*).

Regulations concerning legal proceedings against the rGan-pa:

In the event that the *rGan-pa* passes a verdict, and the dismayed party maintains that the decision is incorrect, the case has to be handed over to someone else who is not *rGan-pa*. If the *rGan-pa* and the four *Mi-thus* win the case, the law fees (*byo-do-ri* = Nepali *jitauri*) as well as the payment to the judge (*bhe-khri* = Nepali *bheṭi*) must be provided by the general public. If they win more than once, an additional *dṅul* is to be handed over to the *rGan-pa*. For the arrangement of the beer of conduct he receives one *dṅul*. This must be provided by the general public too. Expenses excee-

ding this are looked upon as losses of the *rGan-pa*. If the *rGan-pa* loses, he must pay the payment to the judge (*bhe-khri*), and also the penalty (*gran-khri* = Nepali *ḍaṇḍa*) imposed.

If the *rGan-pa* has conferred the office of *Mi-thus* on someone and he doesn't accept, the fine is one *źo*. The *Mi-thus* in question must stay in Marpha. If a *Mi-thus* doesn't stay in the state, after 15 days his son must officiate as deputy, and stay in the state as *Mi-thus*.

In the event that the *rGan-pa* offends against the law, the legal proceedings are transferred to the four *Mi-thus*. The *Mi-thus* must inform the citizens of the state (*yul-ba*). When the whole state has assembled, the citizens of the state (*yul-mi*) must pass judgment. In the event that the four *Mi-thus* do not inform the citizenship, they must each pay a fine of 1/2 *źo*.

General legal costs:

If anyone brings a legal action and wins it, the law fees (*byo-to-ri* = Nepali *jitauri*) to be paid by the winner come to 3 *dṅul*. If he loses, the fine imposed (*gran-gri* = Nepali *ḍaṇḍa*) comes to at least 5 *dṅul*. In matters of greater importance, an additional fine is imposed. The fine must be paid within 15 days. If the fine is not paid within this period of grace, an additional fine of two *bya'u* must be paid for each day it is overdue. If the *rGan-ćhen* or the *Mi-thus* give respite, they have to pay a fine of 1/2 *źo*.

If the whole legal action is settled by an agreement, the judge's fees (*bhe-gri* = Nepali *bheṭi*) come to no more than one *dṅul*. Unrelated to the fact of whether one wins or loses the case, the *Sor*-fee is one *A-na* in each case.

Excluding Foreign courts of appeal:

It is not permitted to evade a sentence by leaving the area of Marpha. It is not allowed to lodge appeals against such a sentence with officials such as *Bhi-ca-ri* (= Nepali *bicāri*), *Do-va-ri* (= Nepali *dvāre*), *A-ma-li* (= Nepali *amāli*) *drMu-khi* (= Nepali *mukhīya*), *Gri-kha* (= Nepali *ḍiṭṭhā*) and *Su-spa* (= Nepali *subhā*). It is not possible to request a verdict (*sto-kab* = Nepali *tok*) from Kathmandu (*yaṅ-bu*) and bring it to Marpha.

In the event that anyone contravenes these rules, the household to which he belongs must pay a fine of three *źo*.

[§ 3, p.3] Official duties of the Rol-po (rol-pa'i kor-nas)

Attendance duties of the Rol-po:

In summer the *Rol-po* are not allowed to take time off from their duties. If a *Rol-po* is not present on the 20th day of the *sTo-ren*-autumn festival, he is fined two *dṅul*. This fine must be paid into the public revenue (*am-sta-ni* = Nepali *āmdāni*). For each further day the absentee must pay one *Ṭam*. In the period from the reaping of the buckwheat to the 20th day of the *sTo-ren* festival, the *Rol-po* are allowed to take time off. If a *Rol-po* is sick in the summer, he can take time off. He must however pay one *dṅul* for each month that he is absent. If a *Rol-po* dies and he has a son who is at least 12 years old, he must be appointed as replacement *Rol-po* for the dead father. If such a son is not available, the family is charged one *dṅul* per month. The remaining *Rol-po*(s) and all other officials receive a share of this sum. A *Rol-po* must not take more than three days leave of absence from official duties. If he takes more than three days off, the fine for the *Min-kya* is one *Ṭam*.

The *rGan-ćhen* can grant the *Min-kya* leave of

absence for four days. In this case the *Min-kya* must deposit a sum (*spes-sa*) of one *A-na*. If the *Min-kya* does not remain in Mar-pha, the fine for each day of absence is one *dṅul*.

When the *rGan-ćhen* and the *Mi-thus* have to leave due to conflicts and legal disputes and travel to *Kli-phuṅ*, *Bhags-luṅ*, *sPo-kho-ra*, *sTaṅ* or *Yaṅ-bu*, the cost of their expenses, and those of the *Rol-po* who carry their luggage, must be divided equally between the citizens of the State. The *Rol-pos* remaining behind in the State are not obliged to deliver any payment for the raising of those expenses. The remaining *Rol-pos* are not allowed to travel. When this money is raised, the *Rol-po*(s) must not embezzle it. The *Min-kya* must not embezzle deposited sums (*spes-sa*) and salt. If even 1 *dṅul* is embezzled, the fine is 1 *śa-daṅ-gyaṅ-bu*. If monetary sums (*spes-sa*) and salt have been deposited and the *Min-kya* gives them away, the fine for him is 1 *śa-daṅ-gyaṅ-bu*.

So far we have had no access to documents from Thag, lying south of Marpha, so we cannot yet comment on the basic political laws of this area from a historical standpoint. Nevertheless, in Larjung there is a huge archive preserved in a large, modern steel cupboard. It remains to be hoped that the documents will soon become accessible for research. Nevertheless the documents from Ghasa show that the political organization of Thag was similar to that of Marpha.

The documents recently photographed in Thini clearly show that this settlement closely followed the model of Marpha in its political organization. Although there are no comprehensive legal texts comparable with the Marpha Bemchag, there are many documents in which comparable laws have been found. Approval of these documents by the representatives of all households was testified with thumb-prints.

Notes

1 Michael Vinding and Krishna Bahadur Bhattachan, An Annotated Bibliography on the Thakalis. In: Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1985), pp. 1-24.

2 To this statement I would like to make the following remarks: I have of course noticed more studies dealing with historical aspects of this area, as for instance historical remarks in Gauchan-Vinding and others. But since all of them like Gauchan-Vinding, do not publish their sources, they cannot be used as a base for further research. The publication of sources and their interpretation is indispensible since these sources confront us with extraordinary linguistic difficulties typical for this area. I therefore strongly suggest that evalutions of sources, given mainly as contents analysis, may not be used for further historical research and conclusions.

3 See Bibliography and Abbreviations: Ramble-Vinding. Concerning the date of this text Ramble-Vinding (p.7) give the following remarks: "The text includes a reference to the Central Government of Tibet (Ganden Phodrang) which was established only in the 17 century and the text cannot be therefore earlier than that date." In its first part the Cimang bem-ćhag mentions a number of historical figures which are not identified by Ramble-Vinding. First we have to mention a King of Jumla named *Sur-ti-pa* (Ramble-Vinding, p. 36, line 12). This is the king *Surtiśāhi* of Jumla, who according to Pandey (p. 44-) ruled this country between 1618 - 1626. The text names

as another historical figure a King of Mustang (*Klo-'o*) called *Ā-ka bSaṃ-grub* (Ramble-Vinding, p. 37, line 1). According to Jackson (p. 134) there were three Kings of Mustang, bearing the name *bSam-grub*: *bSam-grub-rdo-rje*, *bSam-grub-rab-brtan* and *bSam-grub-dpal-'bar*. All three ruled during the 17 century. Finally the text mentions a ruler of *sMu-ga-thar-ba* named *'Khro-skyabs* (Ramble-Vinding, p. 37, line 1-2). This person is obviously identical with *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*, the founder of the three big castles in the Muktināth valley, who lived in the 16 century. From this we can conclude that the earliest date of the compilation of the Cimang bem-ćhag is the second half of the 17 century.

4 Ramble-Vinding, p. 7-

5 Ramble-Vinding, p. 6.

6 See Bibliography and Abbreviations: Kag Bemchag and Marpha Bemchag.

7 Schuh 6, pp. 307-310; Meisezahl, p. 225. According to the descriptions of Meisezahl, the introductions of Tibetan law books very often contain a detailed history of Tibetan law.

8 Schuh 5, Documents XXXVIII and XXXIX.

9 Regarding the use of the Mongolian term *bi-ćig* as a designation of legal documents of a special type see Schuh 7, p. 7 and Schuh 8, p. 162.

10 In the Tibetan legal system we find the usage of three basic terms: *bka'-śog*, *bka'-gtan* etc. for decrees of the ruler, addressed to specific persons and institutions, *rca-chig* for decrees of the ruler, addressed to the whole country or a parts of it and *źal-lće* for the criminal law book.

11 For comparison we may look at the Monthang Bemchag. Unfortunately only a copy of a part of this text is availabe to me. As far as I can see the text describes the relations between Mustang with its neigbours and lists the tributs to be handed over to Jumla and its officials. In its historical decriptions it bears certain similarities to the Cimang bem-ćhag.

12 Nowadays Thag comprises 13 villages.

13 Ramble-Vinding, p. 43, line 4.

14 Ramble-Vinding, p. 44, lines 3-6.

15 Ramble-Vinding give here the following translation: "In order to keep Thag and Sum separate (?)." The term *rgam-śag* is used even nowadays in southern Mustang as a designation of a treatise.

16 The translation of Ramble-Vinding (p. 17) of this sentence is completely misleading. As a consequence the whole interpretation of this treatise in Ramble-Vinding is not understandable.

17 Ramble-Vinding, p. 45, line 1 - p. 46, line 9.

18 Ramble-Vinding, p. 44, line 16 - p. 45, line 1.

19 Ramble-Vinding, p. 18, translates *ćhod-yig* as "clear account." They add to this translation the following commentary (p. 33): "*Chod-yig* (for *chos-yig*) does not necessarily mean an religious account, but is probably a pleonasm, since *ćhos* is the usual term in Baragaon for literature of any sort." This proposed translation is misleading. In this respect I only refer to the Bod-rgya chig-mjod (p. 824), where we find the following explanation of this term: *rcod-gźi 'dum-'grig byuṅ-ba'i yi-ge* "treaty for the settlement of a dispute" or *dmag-mchams ǰog-rgyu'i ćhod-yig* "Treaty, which ends a war."

20 It is not clear to me who is designated by the term *mkhar-dpon*.

21 Ramble-Vinding (p. 18) give the following

translation: "Should a treacherous man arise among the inhabitants of Sum". As the translation of the subsequent passages by Ramble-Vinding shows, they obviously left the term *mi-źen* untranslated.

22 This term is not understandable to me.

23 The paragraphs 47 and 48 are omitted in MB2.

24 MB1, § 2.

25 MB2 contains in fol. 14r a copy of this decession of the year *sa-'brug*, which according to my oppinion corresponds to 1808.

26 MB1, § 2.

27 MB1, § 35, fol. 21v,1: *yaṅ raṅ-raṅ gi rim-pa la phog-na*.

28 MB1, § 35.

29 MB1, § 21.

30 *Mir-sta* is a general designation for any official: *rGan-pa*, *Mi-thus*, *Rol-po* and *Min-kya*.

31 According to § 2 *khral* are besides *sirto* taxes to be paid to external authorities.

32 *bskyal-ćhaṅ* is the term for the usage to offer beer to persons of a houshold leaving it or returning from a journey.

33 See note 30.

34 M. L. Karmcharya, People's Participation in the Management of Local Affairs in Southern Mustang in the 19th and 20th Centuries, in: Ancient Nepal, Number 136, 1994 (Special Edition on Mustang), pp. 17 - 22.

4.2. The feudalistic political order of the land of twelve villages (Yul-kha bću-gñis, Baragaon)

As we have noted above, up to the 19th century the Muktināth valley and the regions under its political control were ruled over by a family of nobles. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Muktināth valley should have greatly differed in its political organization from its southern neighbours. In the Kagbeni village archives, it so happens, there is a text of the *bem-ćhag* genre concerning the history and organization of this region. The document is bound together into a booklet and comprises 15 folios. On the final leaf we find the sealed original of a deed of *Khri-thog rDo-rje-thogs-rgyal*, issued in 1849 and edited above as Document 1. This is in itself an indication of the document's great age. Without a doubt, the document was drawn up before the beginning of the Gorkha rule - that is, before 1790.

The first point to note is that the date the *bem-ćhag* of Kagbeni was put to paper is stated in the document itself:

> [fol. 3v,1] "The history of the origin of the country of *sKag* and its earlier customs were written down in the female fire-ox year, on the 10th day of the third month, on a Sunday, in the 22nd lunar house and on the day of the dragon."

Whoever is familiar with the Tibetan calendrical system will know that, in spite of this information, establishing the writing date with certainty is far from being unproblematic. Possible candidates for the fire-ox year are, for instance, 1577, 1637, 1697 and 1757. The addition of the day of the week to the date might be of some help in identifying the year in question. According to the Tibetan calendrical reckoning I am familiar with,

the 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1577, in all Tibetan calendars I have been able to quantify, was a Friday. The 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1637 was, according to the newer school of the *Phug-pa*, a Sunday; according to the older *Phug-pa* school and the calendrical reckoning of the Kālacakratantra, a Saturday; and according to the reckoning of the *'Phags-pa*, a Sunday.

The 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1697, according to the new and old *Phug-pa* schools, was a Monday; according to the calendrical reckoning of the Kālacakratantṛa and the *'Phag-pas*, a Sunday; and the 10th day of the third Tibetan month of the year 1757, according to all calendrical reckonings I have been able to quantify, was a Thursday.

From this it is evident that only 1637 and 1697 are possible years for the writing of the *bem-ćhag* of Kagbeni. The contents of the text provide no secure evidence as to which of these two years is, in the end, the correct one.

Historical information is found only in the first part of the *bem-ćhag*, where the founding of the village, the location of its borders and its subjection to Jumla is dealt with:

> [fol. 3v,2 - 4r,6] "*sPu-druṅ Khro-skya-pa*, having turned his horse south, set up three districts.
>
> First, concerning the mountain pastures and the borders:
>
> The border between *Som-po* and *sKakh:* the near side of the *rGyas-luṅ-pa,* eastward below the *dkon-mchog man-thaṅ;*
>
> The border between the people of *sKag, rJoṅ* and *Pu-ṭa*: what is below the *Luṅ-mo-che* belongs to the people of *sKag;*
>
> The border between *Khyin-ka* and the people of *sKag*: below the (cliff) *Brag-ẓur* on the near side of the (pass) *Daṅ-sgog-la* belongs to the people of *sKag;*
>
> This side of *sTi-ma* and above *Paṇ-thag naṅ-ma* and *Brag-mo-ćhe* is the common land of the people of *sKag* and of *Phan-legs;*
>
> What remains was granted (to *sKag*) during the lifetime of *sPu-druṅ Khro-skya-ba.*
>
> Later, from the time when (Kagbeni) came under the rule of the king of Jumla *Bhan-pa*, it was said: There is no difference between you, the sixty households of *Che-ṇa-śiṅ*[1], and the sixty households of *sKag*. They are the residences of the king (*rgyal*) and the minister (*blon*). Accordingly, it [i.e. *sKag*] was granted for a tax of fifteen *dKar-dmar."*

Of historical significance is, first of all, the mention of *sPu-druṅ Khro-skya-pa* as the founder of the three southern "districts" (*rjoṅ-sgo*)[2], of which the Muktināth valley of course forms a part. Also significant is the reference to a king of Jumla, spelled *Bhan-pa* or *Bhan-sa*, who ruled later than *Khro-skya-pa*. Of particular interest is the statement that Kagbeni came under the domination of Jumla during his time. The Jumla king in question is either *Bhānāśāhi* (1528 - 1585) or *Bahāduraśāhi* (1665 - 1675)[3], in my opinion most probably the later one. The allusion here is obviously to Mustang's inclusion in the collocation of states

under Jumla's hegemony in the 17th century, which has been dealt with in detail above (cf. Part I, 3.3).

In the Kag *bem-ćhag* the description of the territorial boundaries is followed by a discussion of the penal code [fols. 4r,6 - 6r,1]. Here it is stated that this code was also established by King *Bhān-pa*. In fact, however, the indications are that the code in question is purely Tibetan in origin. There is first the admonishment that the judges must pass sentence fairly. Then there is the provision that trial by ordeal making use of glowing iron and boiling oil should be outlawed. In order to arrive at the truth, the decision of the "(three) precious objects" should be sought, the reference obviously being to a throw of dice.[4] A list of court fees ensues. The section concludes, finally, with instructions on what steps are to be taken in cases where ordeals are conducted with the use of a hot iron or boiling oil. In such cases, the *'o-'om-pa* needs to be present. If the *'o-'om-pa* is absent, the presence of the *khri-thog-pa* is required.

Criminal court rulings are dealt with elsewhere, though only for the case of theft [fols. 11v,5 - 12r,2]. They show that the Tibetan law of compensation applied in Kagbeni. If the thief was a houseowner (*bdag-po*), he was required to pay as compensation a value sixteen times that of the stolen goods. If the thief was a bondsman (*g.yog-po*), only an eightfold compensation had to be paid.

The *'o-'om-pa* and the *khri-thog-pa* were the most important officials of the Muktināth valley. The *khri-thog-pa* was the representative of the local noble family, and the *'o-'om-pa* that of the king of Jumla. As a rule the representative of the King of Jumla remained in the Muktināth valley only for a period of three months. Among his duties was the formal acceptance of the taxes of Lower Mustang (*glo-smad*). It was the duty of the elder of Kagbeni, the steward of the fortress (*mkhar gyi gñer-pa*) and the two stewards from among the ranks of the subjects (*mṅa'-źabs kyi gñer-pa*) to collect these taxes and hand them over to him through the *khri-thog-pa*.

When the 'o-'om-pa arrived on his visit from Jumla, firewood and fodder for his mounts and pack animals had to be made ready. If the *khri-thog-pa* travelled to *Char-mkha', sMon-thaṅ, sMa-snaṅ* or *Gli-buṅ* on state business, monks and laymen had to prepare a suitable reception for him along the way.

The elder (*rgan-pa*) of Kagbeni was not only the seniormost person of Kagbeni, but he also performed this function for the entire territory of the twelve villages. At his installation, he received a turban from the fortress as a token of respect. The elder and the two stewards (*gñer-pa*) were not elected by the people but selected and appointed jointly by the *'o-'om-pa* and *khri-thog-pa*. The elder's authority was evidently considerable. If a person refused to carry out his orders relating to particular activities, he had to pay a certain fine. The six *rol-bo* are mentioned as officials along with the elder.

The people of Kagbeni were divided into six *'cho* groups, which were represented on certain occasions by so-called *mi-'thus*. Particular fields were assigned to the *'cho* groups; the harvests from them were drawn upon in fulfilment of certain public tasks. The maintenance of paths and the performance of certain rituals may be mentioned here.

The *bem-ćhag* of Kagbeni devotes a fair amount of space to the local customs post, which, according to our informants, was located outside the actual village during the historical period. In front of the customs post there was a large open

space, which was used for laying up salt. The customs post was closed in the spring at the time of the Siripañcami festival and reopened only in the summer at the time of the first harvest. Trade stopped during this time, and the main gate of Kagbeni was shut. It was the duty of the *rol-po* to ensure that the pause in trade was observed. The head of the customs post, who was evidently delegated to Kagbeni directly from Jumla, was not present in Kagbeni during this time. Customs on petty trade that nevertheless went on was collected by residents of Kagbeni.

At the time the customs post was closed, the salt storage area was swept out by the *rol-po*, who evidently were allowed to keep for themselves the amount of salt swept together. The closure was accompanied by the performance of a *lha-bsaṅs* ceremony by the monks of the monastery. An animal was also possibly sacrificed.

The salt trade was without a doubt the main source of income for the customs office. There is only one reference concerning the collection of customs duties: the need to measure out granulated salt. There is also only one reference, in Document 6, concerning the amount of duty received. There it is noted that the *sgo-dpon* of Kagbeni retained a handful of salt. In comparison to this, the *cha-phud* duties levied in *Thag* were greater: if a yak or a mjo was used as the pack animal, the customs fee amounted to a double handful of salt; if a goat or sheep, the fee was one handful of salt per animal.

No duties were imposed on certain goods. These were: copper, brass, cotton, woollen stuffs, iron and lead. Butter, comestible oil, tobacco, chewing tobacco, raw sugar, certain dye additives, medicines and chili peppers, however, were subject to duties. The amount of duty owed on these items is not specified in the *bem-ćhag* of Kagbeni. Duties also had to be paid on the transport of bamboo boxes, dossers, boards, beams, wooden boxes and tea. The exact customs rates are given in the case of these goods.

Much space is devoted in the Kagbeni *bem-ćhag* to a description of responsibilities that arose in connection with the performance of certain festivals and religious ceremonies. Determinations were made as to who supplied what food products (and under certain circumstances sacrificial animals), which officials and participants in the rituals received what portions for carrying out the ceremonies. The following festivals and rituals are mentioned:

1. *gSo-sbyoṅ* ceremony (fol. 6A,1)
2. *Ba-le gsum-pa* (fol. 6A,5)
3. *Lo-g.yag* (fol. 7A,3), evidently in connection with a *bsṅo-rim* ceremony and a *ǰo* offering.
4. *Gyab-ras me-tog* (fol. 9B,1)
5. *dByar-stoṅ* (fol. 10A,4)

The Kagbeni *bem-ćhag* also defines the numerous community duties of a profane nature to be carried out by households. Among such duties are participation in communal gatherings, the cleaning of water channels and the irrigation reservoir, the observance of the partial ban on slaughtering bulls needed for tilling fields, the responsibility providing mutual assistance during joint trading expeditions etc. For details, the following edition and translation of the Kagbeni *bem-ćhag* may be consulted.

It should be stressed that, in spite of the purely Buddhist character of the introduction of the *bem-ćhag*, the monastery of Kagbeni and its monks played only a minor role in the ritual life of the village at the end of the 17th century, such as it is

reflected in the *bem-ćhag*. The monastery itself (*ćhos-sde*), for instance, is only mentioned in connection with a *lha-bsaṅs* ceremony (fol. 4A) performed during the closure of the customs post. The monks (*dge-'dun*) are referred to only in connection with the observance of a *bsṅo-rim* ceremony (fols. 7A, 9A). The possibility cannot be ruled out that they also performed the *gso-sbyoṅ* ceremony mentioned on fol. 6A. The main priestly figure, however, is the *a-ya*, who had the main role to play in rituals involving animal sacrifice.

The situation as depicted allows conclusions to be drawn about the settlement history of Kagbeni. The inhabitants of the present-day village of *Kag* speak a Tibetan dialect, and have hitherto been categorized as Bhotias. It is unclear what the historical background to the present situation is. The following fundamental question poses itself: Was the Muktinā̄th valley newly settled by Tibetan settlers from the north and the original population suppressed after the prince *dpon-druṅ Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* was deputed there, or was a Tibetan upper class merely superimposed on the preexisting population, resulting in a Tibetanization of the latter? In the case of Kagbeni, this question can now be answered with a fair degree of confidence.

It must be regarded as certain that a village called *Kag* was already in existence prior to the 15th century. A number of things suggest, however, that it was originally located in a different place from the site of present-day Kagbeni. It may first be noted that, on the basis of studies conducted by B. Schmidt and N. Gutschow, construction of the fortress of Kagbeni was begun only in the second half of the 16th century. None of the houses currently standing in the area surrounding the fortress is likely to be older than the fortress itself. On the other hand, we observe in southern Mustang that easily accessible settlements like Thini and Marpha evidently arose in the 18th century at the earliest, through resettlement from protected sites that were more difficult to reach. The same may be true of the easily accessible villages in *Thag* to the south. Jomsom is a recent settlement from the 18th century.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the founding of the fortress of Kagbeni was the precondition for people being able to settle in such a militarily exposed site in the first place. Where the *Kag* of the medieval period was located may for the time being remain an open question, though I would rule out an exposed riverine site. More likely candidate is the deserted settlement located near Puseling along the *rJoṅ* River above present-day Kagbeni. Resettlement from old Kagbeni to Kagbeni of the present probably began in the late 16th century, and is hardly likely to have ended before the 18th century.

Northern Mustang came under the full influence of Tibetan Buddhism, in the form of the missionary activity of priests from the *Sa-skya* school, in the 15th century at the latest. It is highly improbable that a people who migrated from there to southern Mustang in the 16th century should have practised non-Buddhist rituals involving animal sacrifice. It is also interesting that among the *dkar-ćhag* texts dealt with in the next chapter, a work written shortly after the death of *sGrol-ma-rin-ćhen,* the son of *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa,* refers to the inhabitants of *Kag* as *mi-ṅan* 'bad persons' who followed bad practices (*srol-ṅan*), a characterization that may well refer to the non-Buddhist manner in which they exercised their religion.

From what has gone before it may be inferred that the present-day population of Kagbeni is basically the result of the Tibetanization of an origi-

nally non-Tibetan people.

Text and Translation of the Bem-ćhag of Kagbeni

1A

1. yul gyi └b┘ ems-(phyags) g └cug┘ gi └s┘ nor-bu
2. źes bya-ba bźugs-so ,

1 bem-ćhag gcug gi nor-bu

"(Herein) is contained the basic law of the land, called Jewel of the Ĉrown of the Head."

1B

1. Z , oṃ sva-sti / , ston-pa bla-med (saṅs-rgyas) rin-po-ćhe / , skyobs-pa
2. bla-med daṃ-ćhos rin-po-ćhe / , 'dren-pa bla-med dge-'dun rin-po-ćhe / , bla-med dkon-
3. mćhog gsuṃ la phyag-'chal lo / , sku-gsuṃ yoṅs-'dus rca-(brgyud) bla-ma la / ,
4. sgo-gsuṃ gus-pas phyag-'chal skyabs-su mćhi / , (brgyad)-khri'i dus su zas-gcaṅ-
5. sras su 'khruṅs , sde-snod gsuṃ gyi bstan-pa'i (rgyal)-mchan gcugs , 'gro-kun

5 mchan bcugs

"Om hail! I perform a prostration before the unsurpassable three supreme treasures,
the unsurpassable teacher, the noble Buddha,
the unsurpassable protector, the noble sacred Dharma,
the unsurpassable liberator, the noble community of monks.

I humbly perform the prostration by means of the "three gates" before the direct spiritual teacher and before the spiritual teachers, being in the line of the tradition, (both) uniting in their persons the "three bodies," and deliver myself up to their protection.

Born during the time of the Eighty Thousand as the son of the (king) *Zas-gcaṅ(-ma)* [Śuddhodana],
he erected the standard of the teaching of the Tripiṭaka,"

2A

1. Z , ma-rig mun-pa sel-mjad-pa'i / , mñaṃs-med śākya'i (rgyal)-por
2. phyag-'chal-bstod / , (rgya)-gar ćhos kyi (rgya)-mcho ćhen-po las / , daṃ-ćhos ćhar-(rgyun)
3. bod du 'dren mjad-pa'i / , bod-yul (thaṃs-ćad) ćhos kyi gaṅ-bar mjad / , mkhas-sgrub
4. lo-paṇ rnaṃs la phyag-'chal-lo / , źes mćhod-par brjod-pa sṅon du btaṅ nas,

1 mñam-med 3 'dren-mjad-pas , ćhos kyis

"he removed for all living beings the darkness of ignorance; before him, the incomparable Śākya king, I perform the prostration and extol him.

From the great ocean of India's religions
they brought the rainfall of the sacred Dharma to Tibet,

and thereby filled the whole land of Tibet with the Dharma.

(before these,) the learned and wise translators and pandits,

I perform the prostration.

After the words of offering thus had been placed at the beginning,"

5. * si-ri si-ri rgyal-źabs-rin-po-ćhe'i * sa-gźi yin-pa la, thog-mar skag-pa yul-pa'i (ćhags)-rab bkod-pa

"now the history of the origin of the people of the land of *sKag* was first put down in writing, (it) being the region of the precious *Si-ri Si-ri* king[5]."

2B

1. la , me-mo glaṅ-lo zla-ba gsuṃ-pa'i ches-bću , gza' ñi-ma , skar-ma ñer-gñis , 'brug gi
2. ñi-ma la , skag-pa yul-pa'i (ćhags)-rab daṅ sṅon-srol rnams yi-ger bkod-pa la , spu-druṅ khro-
3. skya-pa ćhibs-kha lho la 'gyur nas , sjoṅ-sgo gsuṃ gcugs, thog-mar ri-ga daṅ sa-mchams
4. skor la , som-po daṅ skakh gi sa-mchams srin-gyuṅ chur-stabs, jaṃ-'phraṅ-mar-mo chur-stabs,
5. staṅ-yed kyis ri-mchams , (rgyas)-luṅ-pa chur-stabs , śar-(phyogs) nas dkon-mćhog-man-thaṅ man-
6. ćhad , skag-pa daṅ sjoṅ-pa pu-ṭa gsuṃ gyis sa-(mchaṃs) , luṅ-mo-ćhe man-ćhad skag-pa'i yin, khyin-

2 ćhag-rabs 3 lho la bsgyur nas , sjoṅ-sgo gsum bcugs 4 skag gi 5 staṅ-yed kyi 6 pu-ṭa gsum gyi

"The history of the origin of the country of *sKag* and its earlier customs were written down in the female fire-ox year, on the 10th day of the third month, on a Sunday, in the 22nd lunar house and on the day of the dragon.

sPu-druṅ Khro-skya-pa, having turned his horse south, set up the three districts.

First, concerning the mountain pastures and the borders;

The border between *Som-po* and *sKakh*: the near bank of the (river) *Srin-gyuṅ* and the near side of the *Jam-'phraṅ mar-mo*;

The mountain pasture border with *sTaṅ-ye*: the near side of the *rGyas-luṅ-pa*, eastward below the *dKon-mćhog man-thaṅ*;

The border between the people of *sKag, rJoṅ* and *Pu-ṭa*: what is below the *Luṅ-mo-ćhe* belongs to the people of *sKag*;"

3A

1. Z , ka daṅ skag-pa'i sa-mchaṃs brag-zur man-ćhad , daṅ-gog-la chur-stabs skag-
2. pa'i yin , sti-ma chur-stabs , paṇ-thag naṅ-ma daṅ brag-po-ćhe yan-ćhad skag-pa daṅ phan-(l └e┘ gs)
3. gñis mkluṅ spis-ma yin , de-man spu-druṅ khro-skya-ba'i sku-thog la gnaṅ-ba yin / , (phyis su) 'juṃ-glaṅ
4. (rgyal)-po bhan-pa └s┘ kyi mṅa'-og tu byuṅ chun , che-na-śiṅ groṅ-pa drug-bću , skag groṅ-pa drug-bću

5. khyed-gñis khyad-med , (rgyal) babs-sa daṅ slon babs-sa yin gsuṅ nas , phral dkar-dmar bćo-lṅa
6. la gnaṅ-ba yin , khyad-par du yul-khriṃs yaṅ gnaṅ-ba yin , thog-mar yul-khriṃs skor la / ,

3 gñis luṅ spyi-ma 5 rgyal 'babs-sa daṅ blon 'babs-sa , khral dkar-dmar

"The border between *Khyin-ka* and the people of *sKag*: below the (cliff) *Brag-zur* on the near side of the (pass) *Daṅ-sgog-la* belongs to the people of *sKag*;

This side of *sTi-ma* and above *Paṇ-thag naṅ-ma* and *Brag-mo-ćhe* is the common land of the people of *sKag* and of *Phan-legs*;

What remains was granted (to *sKag*) during the lifetime of *sPu-druṅ Khro-skya-ba*.

Later, from the time when (Kagbeni) came under the rule of the king of Jumla *Bhan-pa*, it was said: There is no difference between you, the sixty households of *Che-ṇa-śiṅ*[1], and the sixty households of *sKag*. They are the residences of the king (*rgyal*) and the minister (*blon*). Accordingly, it [i.e. *Kag*] was granted for a tax of fifteen *dKar-dmar*.

First, concerning the law of the land:"

3B

1. khriṃs-mi gźuṅ-(bśags) , mda'-mo'i stoṅ-(bśags) , ñes-(phyogs) , 'dun-(phyogs) med-pa (khriṃs)-spes gsuṅs nas yul-
2. khriṃs gnaṅ-ba yin , (lćags)-'dags snuṃ-'dags med , dkon-mćhog luṅ-źus byed (rgyu) , (rgyal)-mkhan la
3. dkar-dmar źo-gaṅ , phaṃ-mkhan la dkar-dmar źo-gsuṃ , sgaṃ-po chig gis spes na , sku-(rgyal) daṅ ćhad-pa
4. gñis bltas nas gćod (rgyu) , gal-srid (lćags)-('dags) snuṃ-('dags) byed dgos byuṅ na , 'o-'om-pa'i sku-chabs
5. źu (rgyu) , 'o-'om med na , khri-thog-pa nas sku-chabs źu (rgyu) , phaṃ-mkhan la ćhad-pa źo-gsuṃ , yul-khriṃs
6. naṅ du , sku-(rgyal) źo-gaṅ sku-chabs kyi snom nas dgoṅs du spul (rgyu) yin , yul-khriṃs skal-pa'i

1 khrims-mis gźuṅ-gśag , mda'-mo'i ltoṅ-bśag , khrims phyes 2 lćags-ldag snum-ldag 3 'pham-mkhan 4 lćags-ldag snum-ldag , 'o-'om-pas sku-chab 5 nas sku-chab 6 sku-chab kyis bsnams nas goṅ du 'bul-rgyu , bskal-pa'i

"Having stated, 'The judge should decide in the middle (i.e. unswayed by outside influences), (even) as the notch is cut in an arrow.[6] Apply the law without regard to the fact that someone is related to (this) person or is close to (that) person,' he instituted the law of the land. (Trial by ordeal requiring) the application of (glowing) iron and immersion in (hot) oil will not be used. Use shall be made of (the custom of) asking the Triratna's decision. The winning party is charged the amount (*dkar-dmar*) of one *źo* (as a court fee). The losing party is charged the amount (*dkar-dmar*) of three *źo*. In passing judgment with wise words, he must do so after having considered the court fee[7] and the punishment. Should it prove necessary to make

application of (glowing) iron or to perform immersion in (hot) oil, the *'o-'om-pa* must function as representative. If the *'o-'om-pa* is not present, the *khri-thog-pa* must function as representative[8]. The losing party is charged a fine of three *źo*.

In accordance with the law of the land, a court fee of one *źo* shall be taken by the representative and be passed on to the higher authorities[9]. The law of the land was instituted to continue in force up to the end of the era."

4A

1. Z, bar du gnaṅ-byuṅ , skag mda'-ṇi skor la , skag-pa la 'bri-sku med , śi-ri-pan-
2. 'jin-ma la ,skag-daṃ dus skag-pa'i chva mda'-ṇi * ru * ston (rgyu) yin , skag-pa gal-ma daṅ mi daṅ bćas-
3. pa phin-phan 'jin mi dgos , aṅ-na phyag-dar rol-bo'i byed dgos , rol-bo nas phes zo-ba gaṅ mda'-
4. ṇi la , skye-skra rnaṃs ćhaṅ zo do-ma ster dgos , skag-pa ćhos-sde lha-bsaṅs la gdan-'dren dgos ,
5. rgan-rol bdun-po la gsol ćhab-ka , braṅ-rce mgo-rce , sgyu-ma sne-chaṅs , kon-pa 1 , das-kur 1 ,
6. khyems 1 , phyag-ma 1 rol-bo rnaṃs la ster dgos , skyed-skra chab-ra la 'gro dus , skag-pa'i rol-bo

1 la 'dri dgos med 2 skag 'dams dus 3 phyin phan , phyag-dar rol-bos 5 rgyu-ma sne-chaṅ 6 khyem 1 , chva-rva la 'gro

"Concerning the *sKag* customs post: The people of *sKag* need not be consulted (concerning customs matters). When (the customs post) is closed for the *Si-ri-panjin-ma* (festival), the salt belonging to the people of *sKag* should be brought to the customs post. As long as (only) the people of *sKag* together with their pack animals and workers go about (their trade after this point in time), nothing may be confiscated. The sweeping of the courtyard[10] shall be performed by the *rol-bo*. (The chief) of the customs post shall be given a *zo-ba* (measure) of ground roasted grain by the *rol-bo*, and a double *zo-ba* of beer to the those working[11] (in the customs post). (The monks of) the monastery of the people of *sKag* shall be invited to a *lha-bsaṅs* ceremony. To the *rgan-pa* and the *rol-ba* - these seven (persons) - shall be made available a dosser, a bamboo tray, a shovel and a broom. When the workers (of the customs post first) go to the salt storage site, good omens shall be sought by the *rol-bo* of the people of *sKag*"

4B

1. ćhaṅ zo do-ma khyer nas stem-'brel byed dgos, chva-'bru gñis babs dus mda'-ṇi nas rol-bo rnaṃs
2. la stem-'brel byed dgos , chva han-chun la khyer-sa med-pa rol-bos rcar-gćod byed dgos,
3. (rgyas)-sgo (rgyab) dgos , mda'-ṇi yo-pa daṅ ćhaṅ ster dgos , śi-ri-pan-'jin-ma nas skag-pa'i drag-
4. rce naṃ-btaṅ bar la skag-pa'i sgor-dpon ston rgyu , skag-pa daṅ som-po gñis daṃ-chig la rten nas
5. sa-gsar gaṅ yin , som-po'i kyaṅ skag yul-pa la yur-ri 'a-śiṅ-ćha , zaṃ-pa'i śiṅ-ćha , bud-

6. śiṅ , san , rca phran-bu len-pa sñad-'cher med, chva-pa la chva-phes chad byas nas len (rgyu) yin

1 khyer nas rten-'brel , chva-'bru gñis 'babs dus 2 rten-'brel , 'khyer-sa , rol-bos rcad-gćod 3 rgyal-sgo , mda'-ṇis , 4 sgo-dpon , dam-chig la brten nas 5 som-pos kyaṅ , yu-ra'i 'a'i śiṅ-ćha 6 len-pa la bsñad-'cher , chva-phye chad byas nas

"by the expedient of taking along a double *zo-ba* of beer. When salt and grains are stored a-way (for the first time), good omens are to be sought for the *rol-bo* by the customs post. The *rol-bo* must see to it that salt is not transported back and forth (during the time when the customs post is closed). The main gate (of *sKag*) shall be shut. Food and beer shall be provided by the customs post. From the *Śi-ri-pa -'jin-ma* festival to the release of the *drag-rce* (fields for the harvest), the customs shall be collected by the *sgo-dpon* of the people of *sKag*.No trouble shall be caused to the people of *sKag* by (the people of) *Som-po* by reason of the agreement between the people of *sKag* and *Som-po*, when the former collect from the *Sa-gsar* (regions of *Som-po*) wood for the irrigation conduits, wood for bridges, firewood, *san*[12] and small amounts of grass.

(Customs) shall be collected from salt traders, with measurement being made with granulated salt."

5A

1. Z , zaṅs , rag , ras , sgo-bsnaṃ , (lćags) , źa-sne (sogs) la go-ra med , mar , ma-khu , tha-mag
2. bsur-ti , go-raṃ , rcod , sman-sna , dmar-rca (rnaṃs) la maṅ-ñuṅ la btas nas go-ra ston-(rgyu), rog-ma
3. la das-skur 1 , kon-pa khur-po la das-skur 1 , rtal khur-po , sgaṃ , gduṅ-ma khur-po la khyems re-re ,
4. ja khur la spa-lag 1 yin , phra-bzuṅ skor la , m └th┘ a'- └n┘ o gźa └n┘ la zin na (rgyal)-po'i yin ,
5. grab la go-pa (rgyu) mda'-ṇi nas ston dgos , lag-len mkhar gyi gñer-pa'i byed dgos , brag-
6. skras-pa skag-pa'i yin , Z , skag └rg┘ an-pa'i

[2S] skor la , thog-mar dbu-thod phu └l┘

1 'go-snam , mar-khu , tha-mag 2 bcod sman-sna 4 ʃva khur, khra-bzuṅ 5 grabs la dgos-pa'i rgyu , mkhar gyi gñer-pas

"There is no customs on copper, brass, cotton, wool, iron and lead. Customs shall be collected for butter, vegetable oils, tobacco, chewing tobacco, unrefined sugar, *bcod* (dye additives), all medicaments and chili peppers, with the amount being according to the quantities (being transported). (The duties) for one bamboo box (*rog-ma*) are one bamboo tray; for one dosser load they are one bamboo tray; for one load of boards, for one wooden box or one load of beams they are in each case a shovel; and for one load of tea they are a *spa-lag* (?).

Concerning the catching of falcons[13]: if they are caught in a foreign region, they belong to the king. The things that are needed for en-gaging in (the catching of falcons) shall be made available by the customs post. The con-

ducting (of the enterprise) shall be done by the steward of the fortress. (The falcons) of *Brag-skras-pa*[14] belong to the people of *sKag*.

Concerning...of the *rgan-pa* of *sKag*:"

5B

1. phyin , skag gis rgan-pa man , yul-kha bću-gñis kyi rgan-pa yin gsuṅ nas
2. mkhar nas dbu-thod 1 , 'o-'om-pa zla-ba gsuṃ (bźugs) dus , 'o-'om-pa'i phral 'khar
3. gi gñer-pa daṅ rgan-pa , mṅa'-źabs kyi gñer-pa gñis , khoṅ-bźi'i lag nas glo-
4. smad kyi phral dus nas khri-thog-pa'i phyag tu 'bul gos , khri-thog-pa'i phyag nas
5. 'o-'om-pa la 'bul gos , 'o-'om-pa daṅ khri-thog-pa gñis bka'-gros steṅ nas , rgan-
6. pa daṅ gñer-pa gñis la mṅa'-źabs nas sral de mgo-'dren gnaṅ-ṅa yin , yul-

1 skag gi rgan-pa min, yin gsuṅs nas 2 'o-'om-pa'i khral mkhar 3 gyi gñer-pa 4 smad kyi khral bsdud , phyag tu 'bul dgos 5 'bul dgos 6 mṅa'-źabs nas bsal te, gnaṅ-ba yin

"With the pronouncing of the words, 'From the point in time onwards in which the turban was first presented to you, you are not (only) the *rgan-pa* of *sKag*; you are the *rgan-pa* of the land of the twelve villages (*yul-kha bću-gñis*),' a turban shall be presented by the fortress (*mkhar*). When the *'o-'om-pa* is present for three months, (the following shall be undertaken) with regard to the taxes for the *'o-'om-pa*: the taxes of South Mustang (*glo-smad*) shall be presented to the *khri-thog-pa* from the hand of the steward (*gñer-pa*) of the fortress, the *rgan-pa* and the two stewards (*gñer-pa*) of the subjects (*mṅa'-źabs*), after they have collected them. The latter shall be presented to the *'o-'om-pa* from the hand of the *khri-thog-pa*. With the mutual consent of the *'o-'om-pa* and the *khri-thog-pa*, the *rgan-pa* and the two stewards (*gñer-pa*) shall be selected and appointed from among the commoners."

6A

1. Z , sa nas gso-sbyoṅ la źal-phud zo gaṅ-ma , brdar-gyag la zo phyed-ma
2. mar-me re la zo gaṅ-ma re-re , ja kas-sla (gzigs) dus ja phiṅ gaṅ , ćhaṅ zo phed-ma
3. 'jaṃ-ma'i kas-sla (gzigs) dus 'jaṃ rag-ćhuṅ gaṅ daṅ ćhaṅ zo phed-ma gsol ćhe-ćhuṅ
4. (gzigs) du gsol 1 daṅ ćhaṅ zo phed-ma , sgrol-don la zim-ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , bźeṅs-
5. ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , 'jug śa-khog phed mkhar nas gnaṅ gos , ba-le gsuṃ-pa mćho └d┘ -
6. dus mkhar nas dar-ćog gnaṅ gos , źu dus ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , ra-rin yul-pa nas

1 brda'-rgyag 2 ja gar-sla , ćhaṅ zo phyed-ma 3 'jam-ma'i gar-sla , zo phyed-ma 4 zo phyed-ma , grol-ston la gzims-ćhaṅ 5 mkhar nas gnaṅ dgos 6 dar-ćog gnaṅ dgos

"A *zo-ba* of (barley) shall be (supplied) as the initiatory present by the inhabitants of the land for the *gso-sbyoṅ* (ceremony). A half *zo-ba* (of barley shall be supplied) for the convocation. One *zo-ba* (of barley) shall be (supplied) for each butter lamp offering. When the quality of tea is tested, one full pot of tea and a half *zo-ba* of beer shall be (supplied). When the

quality of noodle soup is tested, a small brass pot full of noodle soup and half a *zo-ba* of beer shall be (supplied). When the size of balls of rice is tested, a ball of rice and one half *zo-ba* of beer shall be (supplied). At the end (of the ceremony in the evening), one whole *zo-ba* (of beer) shall be (supplied) as bedtime beer. One whole *zo-ba* (of beer) shall be (supplied) as beer to begin the day with. At the end (of the ceremony), one half of an animal carcass shall be presented by the fortress.

When an offering is made during the *bale-gsum-pa* (festival)[15], a flag shall be presented by the fortress. When (the fortress) is asked for it, one whole *zo-ba* of beer shall be (presented). The cost of the goat shall be (borne) by the inhabitants of the country."

6B

1. lug gñis kyi rin ćhu-thag gsuṃ nas dṅul re-re yin , mkhar du ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma 1 daṅ
2. śa-lag 1 'bul (rgyu) , rgan-pa la bar-lhu g.yas-pa , rgan-pa-ma la śa-lhu phed , a-
3. ya la bar-lhu g.yon-pa daṅ śa-lag g.yon , (lpags)-po 1 , mgo-bo 1 , a-ya'i rog
4. la śa-lhu gźi-ćha , śan-pa la śa-lhu gźi-ćha , 'bul-la daṅ phur-nas nas zo-ba
5. bću , ras kha gñis , rog la ras 1 , śan-pa la ras kha 1 daṅ nas zo gsuṃ , gsol la
6. 'bras zo dgu , phur nas groṅ-pa re la nas źiṅ-thog zo-ba re-re , śan-pa'i ćhaṅ zo do-ma ,

1 ćhu-'thag 2 śa-lhu phyed 3 a-ya'i rogs 4 śa-lhu bźi-ćha , śan-pa la śa-lhu bźi-ćha ., 'bul-ba 5 rogs la

"One *dṅul* each as the cost of the two sheep shall be (borne) by the (owners of) the three water mills. The fortress shall be presented with one whole *zo-ba* of beer and the foreleg (of an animal). The *rgan-pa* shall be (presented with) the right middle *lhu*, the wife of the *rgan-pa* with a half *lhu* of meat, the *a-ya*[16] with the left middle *lhu*, the left foreleg, a pelt and a head. The *a-ya*'s assistant shall be (given) a quarter of a *lhu* of meat, (and) the butcher a quarter of a *lhu* of meat. Ten *zo-ba* of barley and two square pieces of cloth shall be (presented) as remuneration and as the barley for the ritual dagger. The (*a-ya*'s) assistant shall be (given) a piece of cloth, (and) the butcher a piece of cloth and three *zo-ba* of barley. Nine *zo-ba* of rice shall be (supplied) for the rice meal. Each household (shall supply) one *zo-ba* of barley from its own harvest as barley for the ritual dagger. The butcher, taking two *zo-ba* of beer,"

7A

1. Z , khyer nas rgan-pa daṅ rgan-ba-mo , rol-po pho-dman rnaṃs la źabs la
2. 'jus nas phyag 'bul gos , ćhu-thag gsuṃ-po la yo-pa sgyu-ma sne-ćhaṅs , g.yaṅ-
3. mjes ster nas skaṅ gos , Z , (lo-g.yags) skor la, dar-(phyogs) mkhar nas snaṅ gos , źu
4. dus ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , rgan-pa-ma gñis la phral-btab , 'cho re nas mi-mthus re-re
5. ćhaṅ rgyu la nas bod-khal bźi , sṅo-rims lo-(g.yags) gñis nas yin , ĵo mćhod dus 'bras
6. zo bću gñis , dge-'dun (rnaṃs) la gsol-dpag śa-lhu gsuṃ nas dkar-śa snag-śa 'bul

2 'bul dgos , ćhu-'thag, rgyu-ma sne-ćhaṅ 3 nas

bskaṅ dgos , lo-g.yag , dar-ćog , mkhar nas gnaṅ dgos 4 cho re nas 5 bsṅo-rim , lo-g.yag , rnams la gsol-spags

"will make an offering of it, after first having touched (with his hand) the feet of the *rgan-pa*, the wife of the *rgan-pa*, the *rol-pa* and their wives. The (owners of) the three water mills shall be (presented with) balls of rice and one piece each of all the types of viscera. They shall be satisfied by being offered crocks of beer adorned with butter.

Concerning the annual yak (sacrifice)[17]: A flag shall be presented by the fortress. When (the fortress) is asked for it, one whole *zo-ba* of beer shall be (presented). An invitation ceremony shall be (performed) for the *rgan-pa* and the wife of the *rgan-pa*. Four *bo-khal* of barley shall be (supplied) by each *mi-'thus* from each *'cho* group as ingredients for (producing) beer. Barley shall be (supplied) for the *bsṅo-rims*[18] ceremony and the annual yak sacrifice. Twelve *zo-ba* of rice shall be (supplied) at the time of the *jo* offering[19]. Balls of rice and side dishes (of boiled meat), as well as, from the three *lhu* of meat, meat with bones and pure meat (without bones) shall be (supplied) to the monks."

7B

1. gos , mi-thus drug la dkar-śa rnag-śa daṅ g.yaṅ-mjes 'bul gos , gog-yul-pa la
2. lhas-bdag , rgan rol dpon-za sji-bo (rnaṃs) la bag gos , braṅ g.yas-pa mkhar du 'bul-
3. gos , 'bul dus ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , rgan-pa'i (g.yags) la sog-dar snaṅ gos , (sogs)-dar snaṅ dus
4. ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , rgan-pa la zim-ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , źaṅ-ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , (sogs)-leb g.yas-
5. pa rgan-pa la , g.yon-pa a-ya la gos , śa-lhu gćig gi suṃ -ćha rgan-pa-ma la , lhu
6. suṃ-ćha a-ya'i rog la , lhu suṃ-ćha śan-pa la gos , rgan-pa daṅ a-ya gñis la sgyu-ma

1 dgos mi-'thus , snag-śa , 'bul dgos 2 rgan-rol dpon-sa , rji-bo , bhag bgos 3 'bul dgos , rgan-pas , rgan-pas g.yag la , gnaṅ dgos , sog-dar gnaṅ dus 4 la gzims-ćhaṅ , bźeṅs-ćhaṅ , sog-leb 5 a-ya la dgos , gćig gi gsum-ćha 6 gsum-ćha a-ya'i rogs , lhu-gsum-ćha , śan-pa la dgos, gñis la rgyu-ma

"The six *mi-'thus* shall be presented with meat with bones and pure meat (without bones) as well as crocks of beer adorned with butter. The inhabitants of *Gog-yul* shall be (presented with) pieces of (yak) meat. Distribute to the *rgan-pa*, the *rol-bo*, the *dpon-za* (?) and the cowherds their portion[20] (of meat). The right breast must be presented to the fortress. When this is presented, a full *zo-ba* of beer shall be (given to the fortress). The *rgan-pa* is obligated to give a [red] cloth neck band for the yak. When he gives the neck band, he (shall receive) a full *zo-ba* of beer. A full *zo-ba* (of beer) as bedtime beer shall be (supplied) to the *rgan-pa*, and also a full *zo-ba* as beer to begin the day with. The right shoulder blade goes to the *rgan-pa*, the left (shoulder blade) goes to the *a-ya*. A third of a *lhu* of meat goes to the wife of the *rgan-pa*, a third of a *lhu* goes to the *a-ya*'s assistant, and a third of a *lhu* goes to the butcher. The *rgan-pa* and the *a-ya* (shall re-

ceive) one piece each of all the types of viscera."

8A

1. Z , sne-chaṅ, lhas-bdag ćhe-ćhuṅ rgan-pa la (gzigs)-rtog 'bul gos , de dus
2. rgan-pa la ćhaṅ zo phed-ma , ȷ́o mćhod dus thabs-ćhaṅ zo do-ma , braṅ lpags-ma ston zer nas
3. ćhaṅ zo do-ma , dpuṅ-ćhaṅ zo do-ma , rol-po-ma śa blaṅs dus zo do-ma , ltar-pa byed dus ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-
4. ma mda'-ṇi la ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , mda'-ṇi 'bru-sna ster gos , 'bul-la daṅ phur-nas nas nas
5. zo-ba bću , a-ya la ras-kha gñis , rog la ras-kha 1 , śan-pa la ras-kha 1 daṅ nas zo-ba
6. gsuṃ , yaṅ śan-pa'i rgan-rol pho-mo rnams la phyag-'bul byed dgos , a-ya'i zo-ba gaṅ

1 'bu! dgos 2 braṅ spags-mar 4 mda'-ṇis 'bru-sna ster dgos , 'bul-ba , phur-nas nas zo 5 rogs la , byed dgos

"The size of the pieces of meat shall be supplied to the *rgan-pa* for inspection. At this time the *rgan-pa* shall be supplied with half a *zo-ba* of beer. When the words are spoken, 'Provide the breast for the boiled side dish of meat,' half a *zo-ba* of beer shall be (supplied). A double *zo-ba* (of beer) shall be (supplied) as beer for the manual (labourers). When the wives of the *rol-po* fetch the meat, they (shall present) a double *zo-ba* (of beer). When the *ltar-pa*[21] is performed, one *zo-ba* of beer shall be (supplied). One *zo-ba* of beer shall be (presented) to the customs post. The customs post is obligated to give various types of grain. Ten *zo-ba* (of barley) shall be (supplied) for the offering as barley for the ritual dagger. Two pieces of cloth shall be (supplied) to the *a-ya*. One piece of cloth shall be (supplied) for the *a-ya*'s assistant. One piece of material and three *zo-ba* of barley shall be (supplied) for the butcher. Further, the butcher must perform prostration in front of the *rgan-pa*, the *rol-bo* and the wives of the latter. One *zo-ba* (of barley) from the *a-ya* (and)"

8B

Unlegible

9A

1. Z , śan-pa'i la zo-ba gaṅ, rol-bo la ster gos , dge-'dun la sṅo-rim gyi
2. dus groṅ-pa re-re nas nas zo re-re , groṅ-pa re-re nas gso └l┘ -ph └es┘ [±2S] [g]ñis-gñis , 'bru [±2S]
3. gñis nas zo- └ba┘ bźi , rcag-ltur phe-phud la nas zo-ba ..., byaṅ-ras lho-ras buṃ-ras [1S]
4. gsuṃ gos , [±4S] kha- └l┘ o └ṅ┘ skor la , └rg┘ an-rol └b┘ sruṅ d └u┘ s [1S] └ći┘ -
5. grag gaṅ-drag bya └s┘ na[s] bsruṅ go └s┘ , └yul┘ -ba na[s] [1S]-thaṅ └lug┘ 1 , gyaṅ -pa g └ñi┘ s
6. [ ]

1 rol-bo la ster dgos , dge-'dun la bsṅo-rim 4 gsum dgos 5 bsruṅ dgos

"one *zo-ba* (of barley) from the butcher shall be given to the *rol-bo*. One *zo-ba* of barley shall be (supplied) by each household for the monks during the period of the *bsṅo-rim* (festival). Two meals of roasted grain each ...

From ... and grain, these two, four *zo-ba*. ... *zo-ba* of barley for the initiatory present at the *rcag-ltur* (field stone)[22]. Three are needed, (namely) northern cloth, southern cloth and cloth for the ritual bottle[23].

Concerning the *kha-loṅ* (square)[24]: When it is guarded by the *rgan-pa* and *rol-bo*, they shall guard it with all means (at their disposal). One sheep and two *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars of beer) shall be (supplied) by the inhabitants of the territory. ..."

9B

1. phyed , lus-steṅ du khrims yoṅ , Z , gyab-ras me-tog * XXX * sk[o]r la , yul-pa nas └ra┘ 1 ,
2. mkhar nas dar-ćog, źu dus ćhaṅ zo-ba gaṅ , ćhaṅ gyaṅ-pa gñis , 'bras zo bću , a- └ya┘
3. la ras kha-gñis , 'bul-la daṅ phur-nas bćas zo-ba bću , a-ya'i rog la ras- └kha┘
4. 1 , śan-pa la ras 1 daṅ zo-ba gsuṃ , mkhar du śa-lag 1 , 'bul dus ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma ,
5. rgan-pa la bar-lhu gos , rgan-pa-ma lhu-phyed, a-ya'i rog daṅ śan-pa gñis la śa-lhu
6. bźi-ćha bźi-ćha , a-ya la śa-lag 1 bar-lhu 1 , braṅ-rce go rce sgyu-ma sne-chaṅ gos ,

3 'bul-ba daṅ , a-ya'i rogs 5 bar-lhu dgos , a-ya'i rogs 6 braṅ-rce mgo-rce rgyu-ma

"Punishment shall be administered bodily.

Concerning the (sacrificial festival) of buckwheat blossoms[25]: One goat shall be (supplied) by the inhabitants of the territory. When a flag is requested from the fortress, a full *zo-ba* of beer shall be presented. (The following items are needed:) two *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars) of beer, ten *zo-ba* of rice, two pieces of cloth for the *a-ya*, ten *zo-ba* of barley as a present and as barley for the ritual dagger, one piece of cloth for the *a-ya*'s assistant, one piece of cloth and three *zo-ba* (of barley) for the butcher. A leg (of meat) shall (be given) to the fortress as the meat (portion). When this is presented, a *zo-ba* of beer shall be (given). Half a *lhu* (of meat) is needed for the *rgan-pa*, a middle *lhu* (of meat) for the wife of the *rgan-pa*, a quarter of a *lhu* (of meat) each for the *a-ya*'s assistant and the butcher. A leg (of meat), a middle *lhu*, a piece of breast and head, as well as one piece each from all the types of the viscera, are needed as (the portion of) meat for the *a-ya*."

10A

1. Z , rgan-pa pho-mo gñis la phral-stabs gos , (lpags)-pa rol-bo la yin
2. Z , kha-loṅ du gya-thaṅ bsruṅ skor la , (lugs) 1 daṅ ra 1 , ćhaṅ gyaṅ-pa gsuṃ , 'bra-zo bćo-
3. lṅa , rgan-pa la lhu-phed srum gyer gos , rol-bo rnaṃs kyi ći-drag gaṅ-drag byas nas bsruṅ
4. gos , Z , dbyar-stoṅ skor la , (lugs) gsuṃ , gsol bźi nas , yul-pa phed , (dmags)-
5. gyug phed , rgan-pa la 'cho drug-po la gyaṅ-pa gñis-gñis , rco dus nas dab-pa la
6. rol-bo 'gro gos , rol-bo la nas zo-ba gaṅ ster gos , gñer-pa la źal-phud cho-re

1 phral-btab dgos 2 lug 1 daṅ , 'bras zo 3 'gyed dgos , rol-bo rnams kyis , ći-drag , gaṅ-drag 4 dgos , lug gsum , yul-pa phyed 5 rgyug phyed , cho drug-po , bco dus 6 rol-bo 'gro dgos , ster dgos

"An invitational ceremony is necessary for the *rgan-pa* and his wife. The hide goes to the *rol-bo*.

Concerning the guarding of the buckwheat spread out on the *kha-lo* square: (To be supplied are:) one sheep and one goat, three *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars) of beer, 15 *zo-ba* of rice. A half *lhu* of meat shall be distributed to the *rgan-pa*. The *rol-bo* are required to guard (the drying buckwheat) with all the means (at their disposal).

Concerning the *dbyar-stoṅ*[26] (festival): Three sheep (shall be supplied). The inhabitants of the territory and the *dmags-rgyug*[27] shall (each prepare) half of the four meals. Two *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars of beer) shall be (supplied) to the *rgan-pa* and (each of) the six *'cho* groups. When (the beer) is being brewed, the *rol-bo* must go to measure the barley (needed to produce the beer). One *zo-ba* of beer shall be given to the *rol-bo* for this. To the stewards shall be supplied, as the initiatory present from each *'cho* (group)"

10B

1. nas zo phed-ma re 'bul gos , dbyar-stoṅ ćhen-mo la , gyaṅ-pa ñi-śu yul-ba nas
2. gnaṅ gos mdar-rce snaṅ dus , bhen ćhu-thag gsuṃ nas slom-ma re ster gos , rgan-pa
3. la źal-phud zo gaṅ-ma , dbyar-stoṅ la ma non na ćhad-pa źo-phed yin , Z , rol-bo
4. spo-pa'i skor la , ćhaṅ (rgyu) la nas bod-khal bźi , gsol 1 daṅ sruṃ bćas , g.yaṅ-
5. mjes staṅ-staṅ la ma 'jom na ćhad-pa źo-phed, rgan-pa la źal-phud zo gaṅ-ma
6. zim-ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , źaṅ-ćhaṅ zo gaṅ-ma , rol-bo'i yul-pa'i spyi-las gaṅ la yin

1 phyed-ma , 'bul dgos 2 gnaṅ dgos , mda'-rced gnaṅ dus 'ben , ster dgos 3 ćhad-pa źo phyed 4 'pho-ba'i skor la 5 mjes btaṅ-btaṅ , ćhad-pa źo-phyed 6 gzims-ćhaṅ , bźeṅ-ćhaṅ , rol-bos

"one *zo-ba* (of barley (?)). Twenty *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars of beer) shall be supplied by the inhabitants of the territory for the large *dbyar-stoṅ* (festival). When the archery contest takes place, one wickerwork tray shall be given by each of the three water mills. The *rgan-pa* receives a full *zo-ba* (of beer) as the initiatory present. If anyone does not come to the *dbyar-stoṅ* (festival), the fine is half a *źo*.

Concerning the rotation of the *rol-bo*: (To be supplied are:) four *bod-khal* of barley as ingredients for the (production of) beer, as well as a meal of meat. When crocks of beer adorned with butter are presented, and someone fails to show up, the fine is half a *źo*. To the *rgan-pa* shall be given, as the initiatory present, a full *zo-ba* of beer; as a bedtime beer, a full *zo-ba*; and as beer to begin the day with, a full *zo-ba*. The *rol-bo* must perform all activities for the territory"

11A

1. Z , kyaṅ ñe-riṅ (phyogs)-khyad med-pa byed gos , ñe-riṅ byed yod na zer nas
2. rol-bo mna' skyal gos , skyal phyin mna'-śa , śa-khog phed , 'bras zo-ba drug ,
3. yin , Z , yur-pa daṅ jiṅ-ṅu'i skor la , yur-byaṅ-ba'i gyaṅ-pa (brgyad) rco gos , rgan-pa
4. źal-phud zo gaṅ-ma , dar-gyag la bzo phe-ma 'oṅ , yu-ra ston dus su ma yoṅ-
5. phyin ćhad-pa nas zo-ba gsuṃ , jiṅ-ṅu ston

dus, jiṅ-byaṅ-ṅa nas , goṅ daṅ mchuṅs-pa
6. yin , snag la yaṅ goṅ-ćha mchuṅs-pa yin/ , Z , yul-pa (chogs)-ti'i skor la/

1 med-par byed dgos 2 rol-bos mna'-bskyal , byed dgos , bskyal phyin , śa-khog phyed 3 yu-ra daṅ rjiṅ-bu , yur-ćhaṅ-bas , brgyad bco dgos 4 brda-rgyag , zo phyed-ma 5 rjiṅ-bu , rjiṅ-ćhaṅ , yul-pa chogs-'du'i

"without showing preference to intimates and persons of like persuasion. Should any claim that he shows preference to intimates, he must declare an oath in this regard. When the oath is taken, the meat of the oath is half an animal body and six *zo-ba* of rice.

Concerning water channels and the irrigation pond: eight *gyaṅ-pa* (earthen jars of) beer shall be brewed by the *yur-byaṅ-ba*[28]. The *rgan-pa* will receive a full *zo-ba* of beer as the initiatory present. Half a *zo-ba* (of beer) shall be supplied for the convocation (of the people). When the water channel is being cleaned and someone fails to participate, the fine is three *zo-ba* of barley. When the irrigation pond is cleaned, (beer) shall be (supplied) by the *rjin-byaṅ-ṅa* accordingly. At (the time following the) sowing of buckwheat seed[29], (the work of cleaning channels and reservoir) shall (be performed) accordingly.

Concerning the holding of meetings by the inhabitants of the territory:"

11B

1. dar-gyag byas phyin , han-chun la 'gro-sa med, gal-srid gro na ćhad-pa zo-ba
2. gsuṃ , de-man stis ćhad zo-ba gaṅ , rgan-pa phebs nas ma yoṅ na , phi-ćhad zo-
3. ba phed , źiṅ yụr-ra la sab-su (nags)-rnams daṃ phyin , rcad-ćhod-pa byuṅ na ćhad-pa dṅul
4. re-re , źiṅ nas lud thu-ba daṅ , lud-bra nas lud rku-ba daṅ , cab-rag nas rca rkus na
5. ltas nas rkun-'ǰal byaṅ (rgyu) yin , Z , rkun-mo'i skor la , phyi-nor naṅ-nor gaṅ
6. rkus kyaṅ , bdag-po'i rkus na mǰal bćo-(brgyad) skor , g.yog-po'i rkus na mǰal

1 brda-rgyag 2 de-min-pa , phyis-ćhad 3 ba phyed , źiṅ yu-ra 5 naṅ-nor gaṅ 6 bdag-pos rkus na 'jal , g.yog-pos

"After (the meeting) has been called, there is no possibility to travel back and forth. In cases where someone departs on a journey, the fine is three *zo-ba* (of barley). If someone is still absent after the *rgan-pa* has come, the fine for being late is half a *zo-ba* (of barley).

As long as the clusters of grass and thorny bushes are protected along the water channels in the fields, the fine is one *dṅul* where cases (of infraction) are detected. In cases where dung is collected from the fields, where dung is stolen from compost heaps and where hay is stolen from stacks of hay, compensation shall be made, where this is detected, as in the case of thievery.

Concerning thievery: What is stolen from the external[30] or internal property shall be returned 18-fold as compensation, in cases where a houseowner steals. In cases where a servant

steals, ninefold the amount shall be returned as compensation."

12A

1. Z, dgus-skor , gyod-nor yul-ba la 'bul gos , sib-rcis-brag
2. gi skor la , sib-rci'i-brag la ra-śor-pa byuṅ na , bdag-mi (mgyogs) na bdag-po'i
3. ra ded (rgyu) , rol-bo'i (mgyogs) na rol-po'i ra ded (rgyu) , la phar-(rgyab) la zin sa med , sṅon
4. la zin-pa de-man-pa gźan zin-sa med , (brgya)-zaṃ du non phyin bslu-ba'i khyun-yod
5. ma non che (rgya)-zaṃ du rol-bo'i gsod gos/, Z , rgan-pa'i las ga la bkos kyaṅ
6. ma phyin che nas źiṅ-thog zo-ba gsuṃ ćhad-pa yin , Z , khur-ćhaṅ skor la , glo la

1 rgyu-nor , 'bul dgos 2 bdag-pos 3 ra 'ded rgyu , rol-bos mgyogs na rol-pos ra 'ded rgyu 4 rgya zam 5 rol-bos, rgan-pas las-ka la bskos

"The possessions in question shall be presented to the inhabitants of the territory. If a goat wanders off to the (cliffs of) *Sib-rci'i brag*[31], the goat shall be driven off by the owner, assuming the owner is quicker. If a *rol-bo* is quicker, the goat shall be driven off by the *rol-po*. If (the goat) crosses the pass, it shall no longer be captured (by the *rol-bo*). If it is not one which was previously captured, there is no further possibility (on the part of the *rol-bo*) to capture it. If (the owner) overtakes (the *rol-bo*) before the main bridge (over the Kali Gandaki), the custom is that (the goat) shall be retrieved (by the owner). If he does not overtake (him), the *rol-bo* must slaughter (the goat) at the main bridge.

If someone, even though he has been picked by the *rgan-pa* for a task, does not go (to perform it), the fine is three *zo-ba* of barley from his own fields.

Concerning the *khur-chaṅ* tax:"

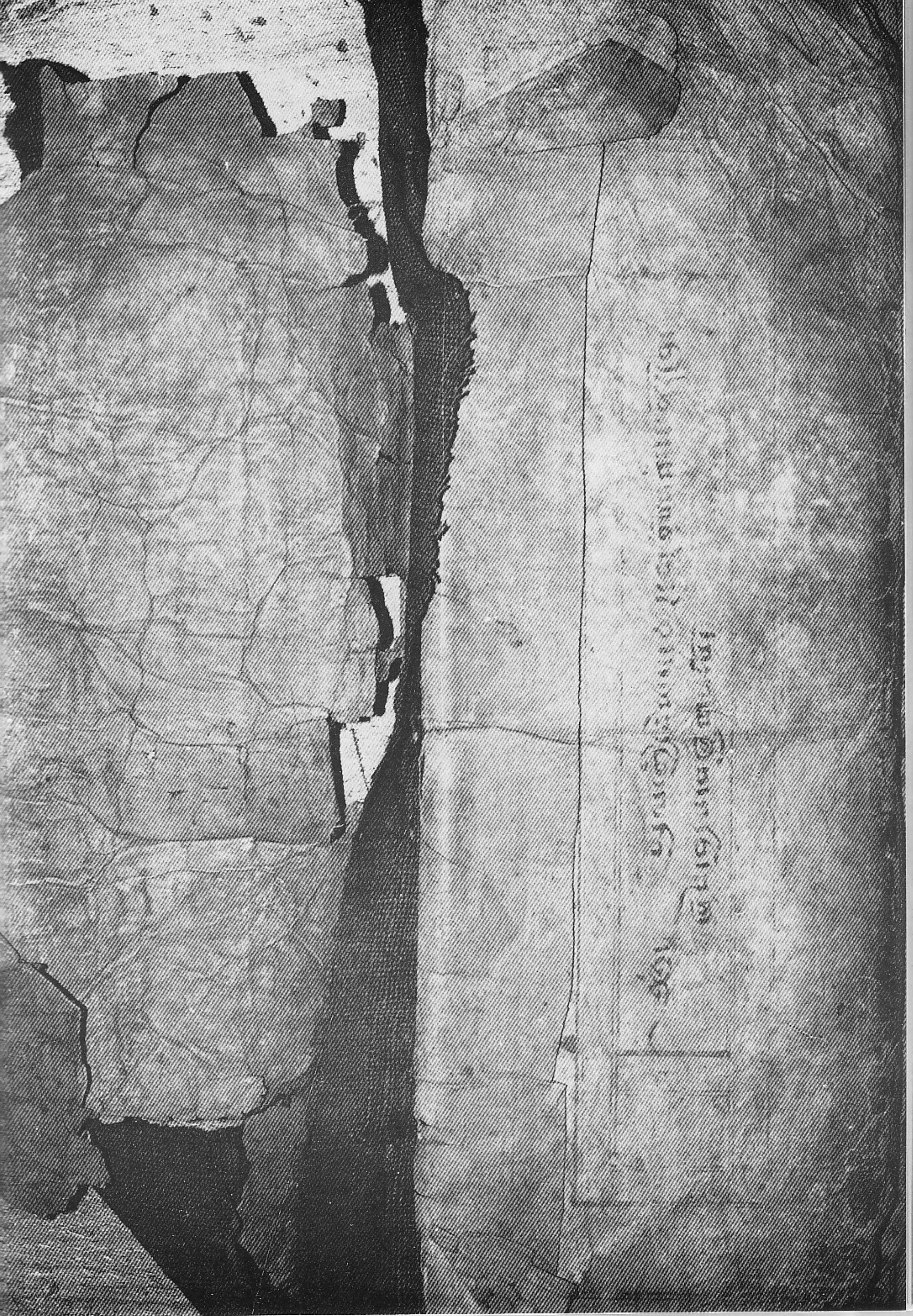
12B

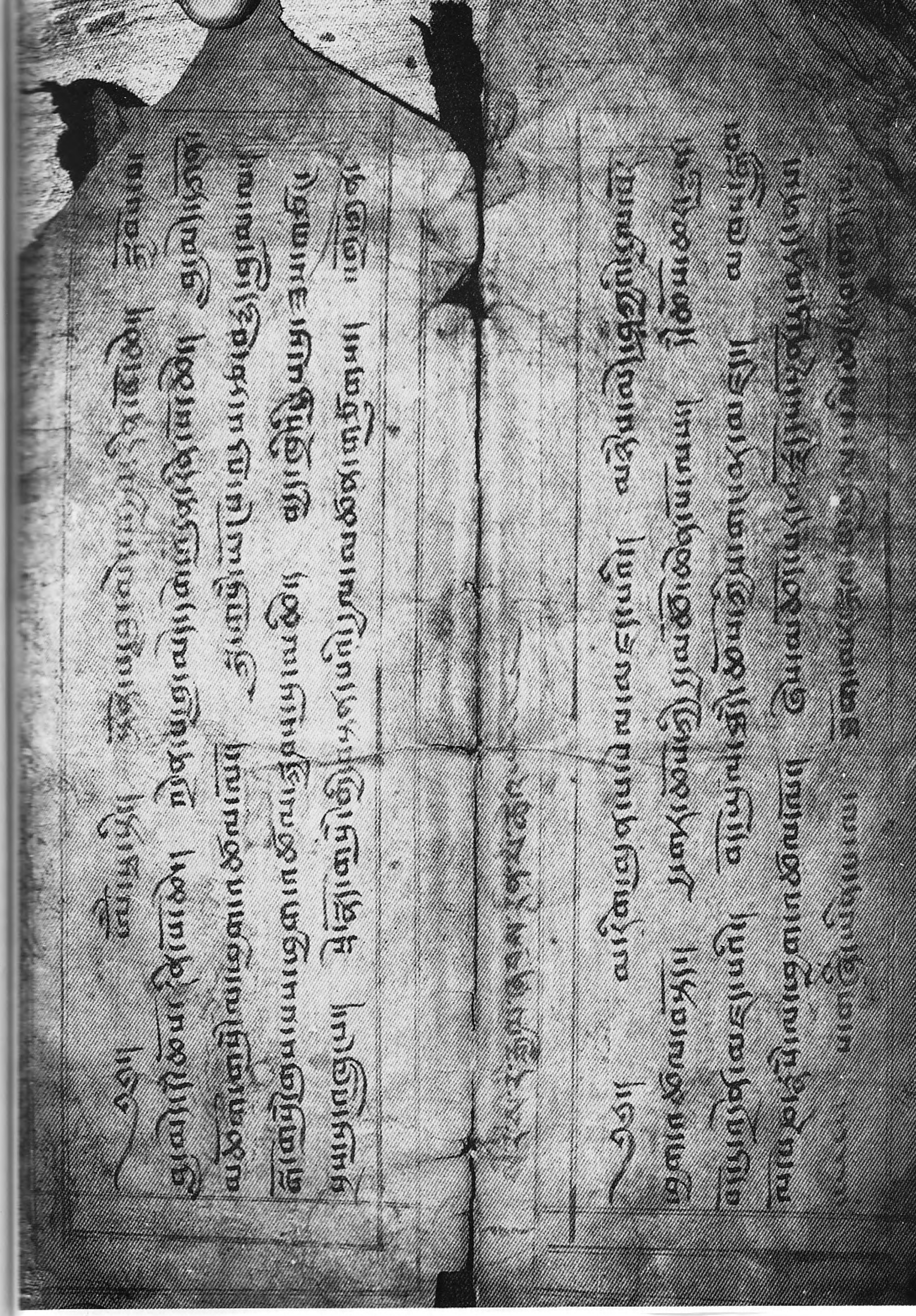
1. choṅ la 'gro dus , gaṅ du choṅ (rgyab) kyaṅ skag-pa la khur-ćaṅ mi dgos , Z, dbu-thod skor
2. la , khri-thog-pa 'juṃ-glaṅ nas (dpags)-ri snoms nas phebs dus , bab-rca daṅ bab-śiṅ ma-
3. (mtogs), gźan 'bul mi gos , (rgyal)-byus la khri-thog-pa char-mkha' , smon-thaṅ , sma-snaṅ,
4. gli-buṅ rnaṃs la phebs dus , lha-sde mi-sde gñis kyi phyag 'bul dgos , khri-thog-pa skag du
5. phebs na mćhod-pa (gcugs)-don , 'daṃ-mćhod gaṅ (gcugs)-pa thug phyin , khri-thog-pa la

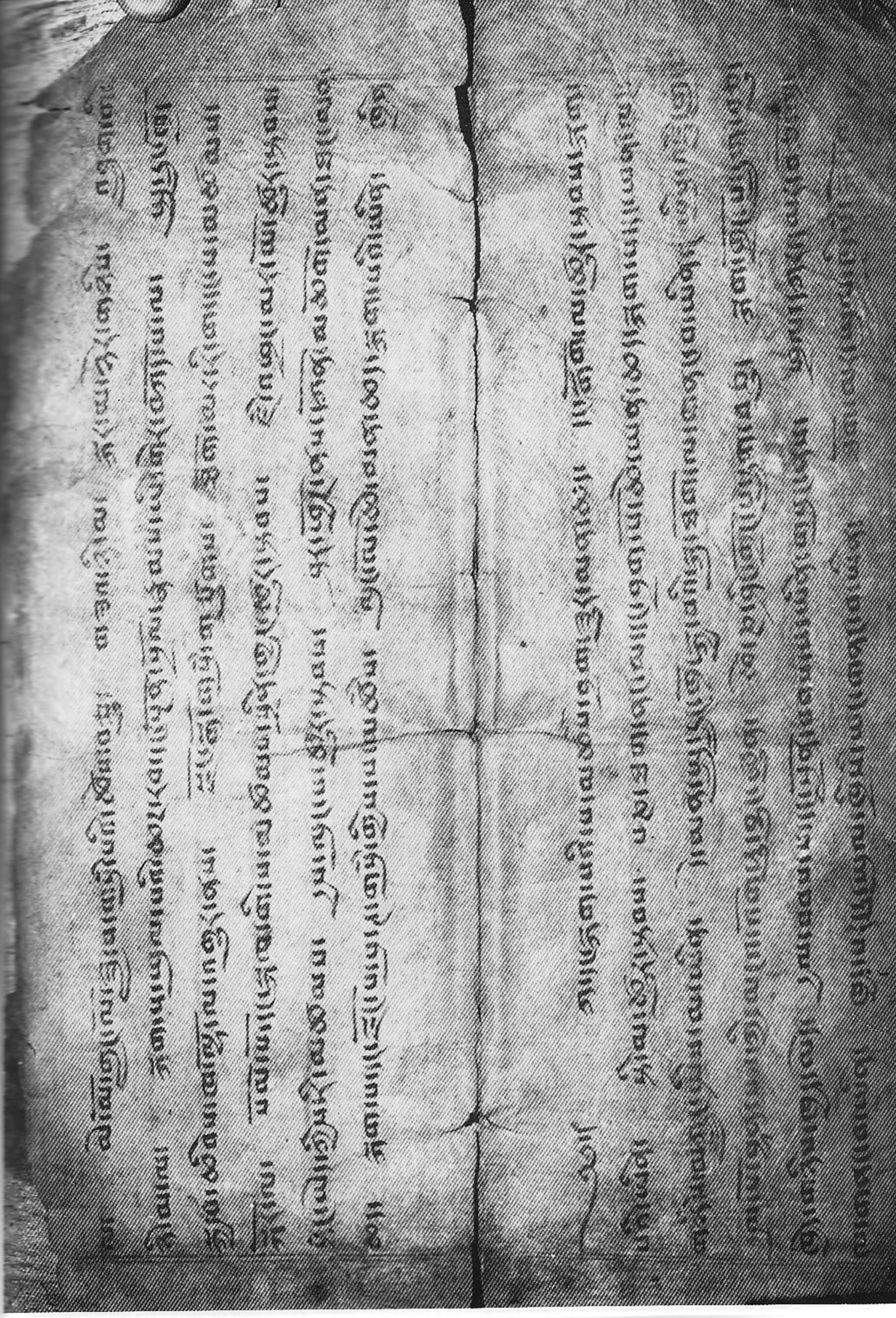
2 bsnams nas phebs 3 gtogs, gźan 'bul mi dgos, 4 gñis kyis , 'bul dgos

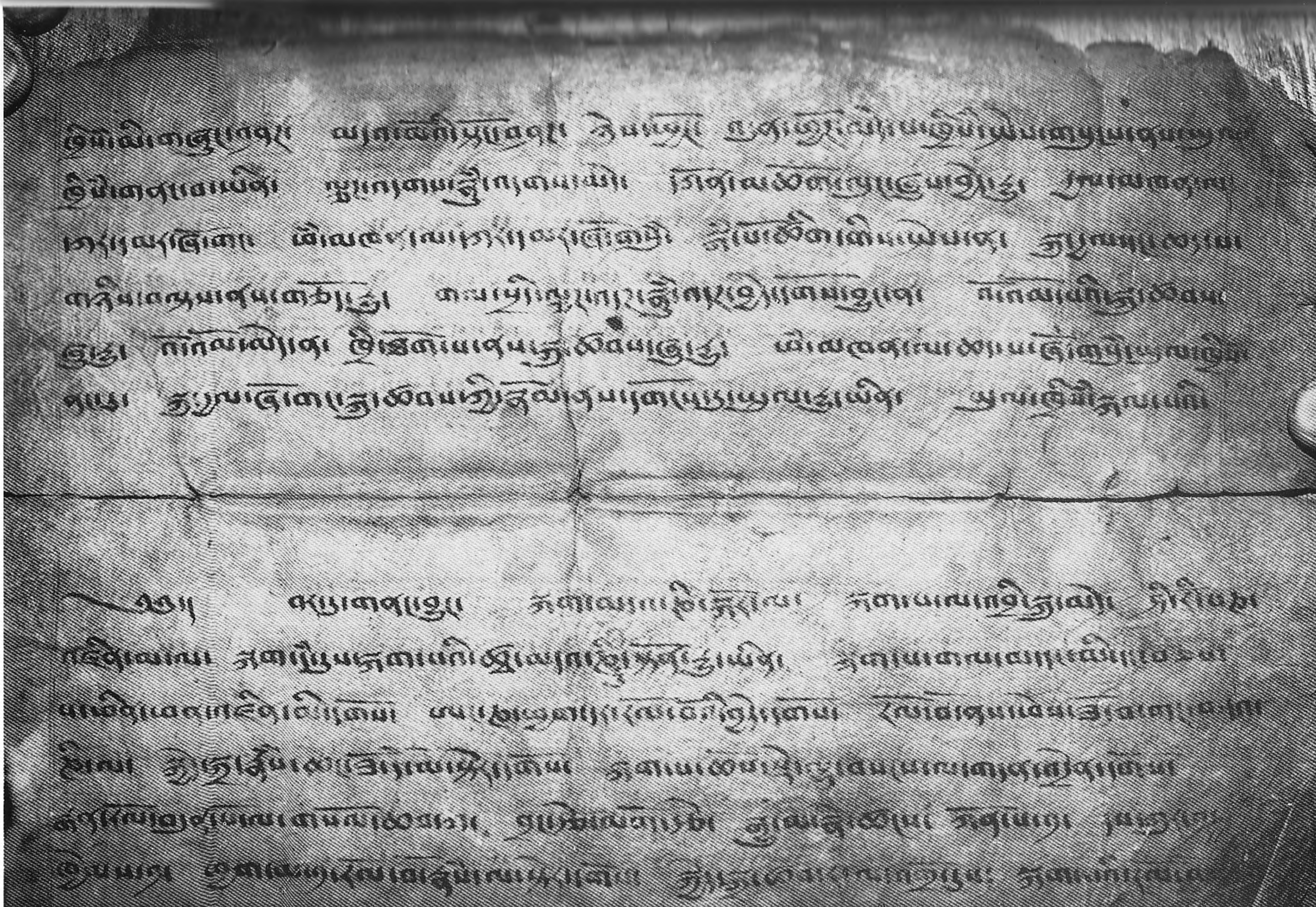
"When (people from *sKag*) go to Mustang to trade, the *khur-cha* tax is not required of the people of *sKag*, no matter where they carry on the trade.

Concerning sovereign power[32]: When the *khri-thog-pa* comes (to Kag) from Jumla in the company of an escort[33], nothing need be presented other than hay and firewood. If the *khri-thog-pa* travels to *Char-mkha'*, *sMon-thaṅ*, *sMa-snaṅ* [= Manang] or *Gli-buṅ* [= Dana],









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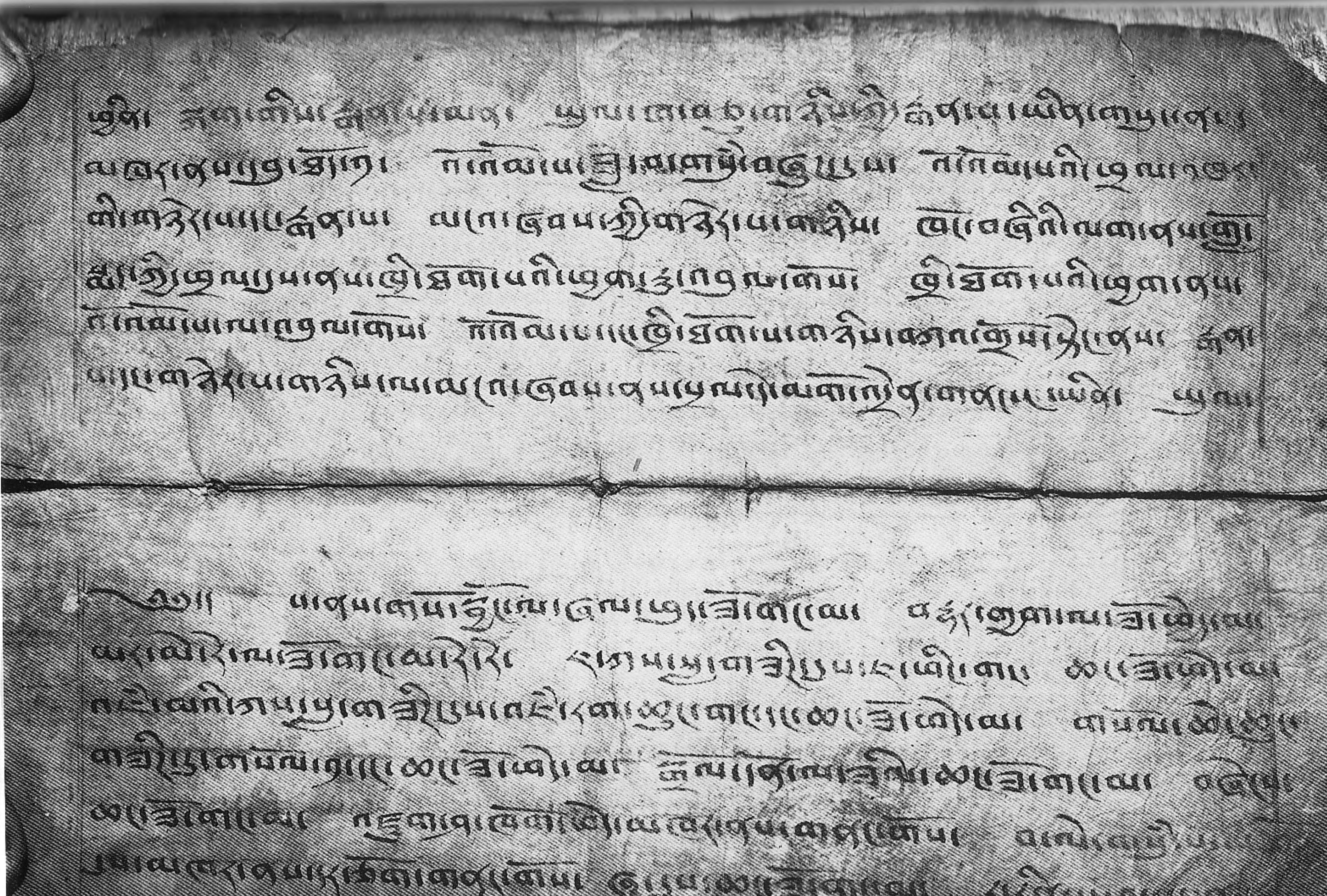


ཀྱག་གཅིག་གི་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ལྷུང་བ་ཡིན། ལ་ཀར་སུ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་ལ་ག།།
ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་སྟེ། ཚིག་པ་ལ་འདར་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡང་པ་ལ། ཚིག་པ་ལ་ལ་ཕྱིན་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། ལ་
ཡང་འདར་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པ་ལ།། ཕྱི་ལ་གང་ཀེ་ལྷ། ལྟ་བ་ཀ། ལ་ཀ་ཤེ་ཀ། ཡ་ཡ་ཡི་རེ་ཀ
ལ་ཕྱི་རྒྱུ་ཀ་ཤེའོ། ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱི་ཤེའོ། ཐུབ་ལ་ལ།། སྐྱེ་རབ་ཤེས་པ་ཐེ་ཐ་
བཅུ། དཔ་ཐ་ཀ་སྤྱི། རྐ་ལ་དཔ་ཀ། ཤེས་པ་ལ་དཔ་ལ་ཐ་ཀ།། ཤེས་པ་ཐེ་ཀ་སྐྱེ། ཀ་ཡིད་ལ།
ཐ་བ་ཐེ་ཀྱི། ཤེ་རབ་ཤེས་པ་སྒྲ་ལ་འདི་ར་ཤེས་པ་ཤེ་ཐེ་ཀ་ཐེ་བ་འདི་རེ། ཤེས་པ་ཀི་ཤེས་པ་ཐེ་ལ།

༄། །ཀྱེ་རབ་ཤེས་པ་ཚིག་པ་ལ།། ཚིག་ཤེ་ལ། རབ་པ་ལ་ལ་ལ་ཤེ་ལ་ཐེ་ལ་ཞི་བ་ལ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ།
ཀྱི་པ་ཤེས་པ་ཤེ་ཀ་ཐེ་ལ་ཐེ་པ། ཐུབ་ཐ་ཀ་སྐྱེ་པ་ལ་ཡ་ལ་རྒྱུ་ཡ་ཤེ་ཀྱི་ཡ། ཀ་ལ་
འདི་པ་སྐྱེ་ཤེས་པ་རྐ་ཀ་པ། ཀ་ལ་ཡ་ཀ་ར་ལ། ཤེ་ལ་ཤེ་ར་ཤེས་པ་ཐ་ཀ་ཀ། ཤེ་
ཐ་པ་ཞི་ཐེ་ཀ་ལ་ལ། ཚིག་པ་ལ་ཚིག་པ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱེ་ལ་ཀ་ལ་ཀ་ཤེ། ཀ་ཤེ་ར་ཤེས་པ་ཤེ་ལ་སྐྱེ་པ་ཤེ་
ཞི་ཤེ་ལ་ཤེས་པ་ཐ་ཀ་ལ་ཤེ། ཕྱི་ཤེ་ལ་ལ་ཀ་ཡ་ཀ་སྐྱེ་ལ་ཤེས་པ་ཡིན། ར་ཤེ་ཤེ་སྐྱེ་པ་ཤེ་ལ།
ཐ་ཤེ་ཀ་སྐྱེ་པ། ཀྱི་ལྟ་ཤེ་སྐྱེ་པ་ལ་ཀ་ཐ་པ་ཐ་ཀ་ཀ་སྐྱེ་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་པ་ཀར་ཤེ་ཐ་ཀ་ལ་ཤེ་ལ།

[illegible]

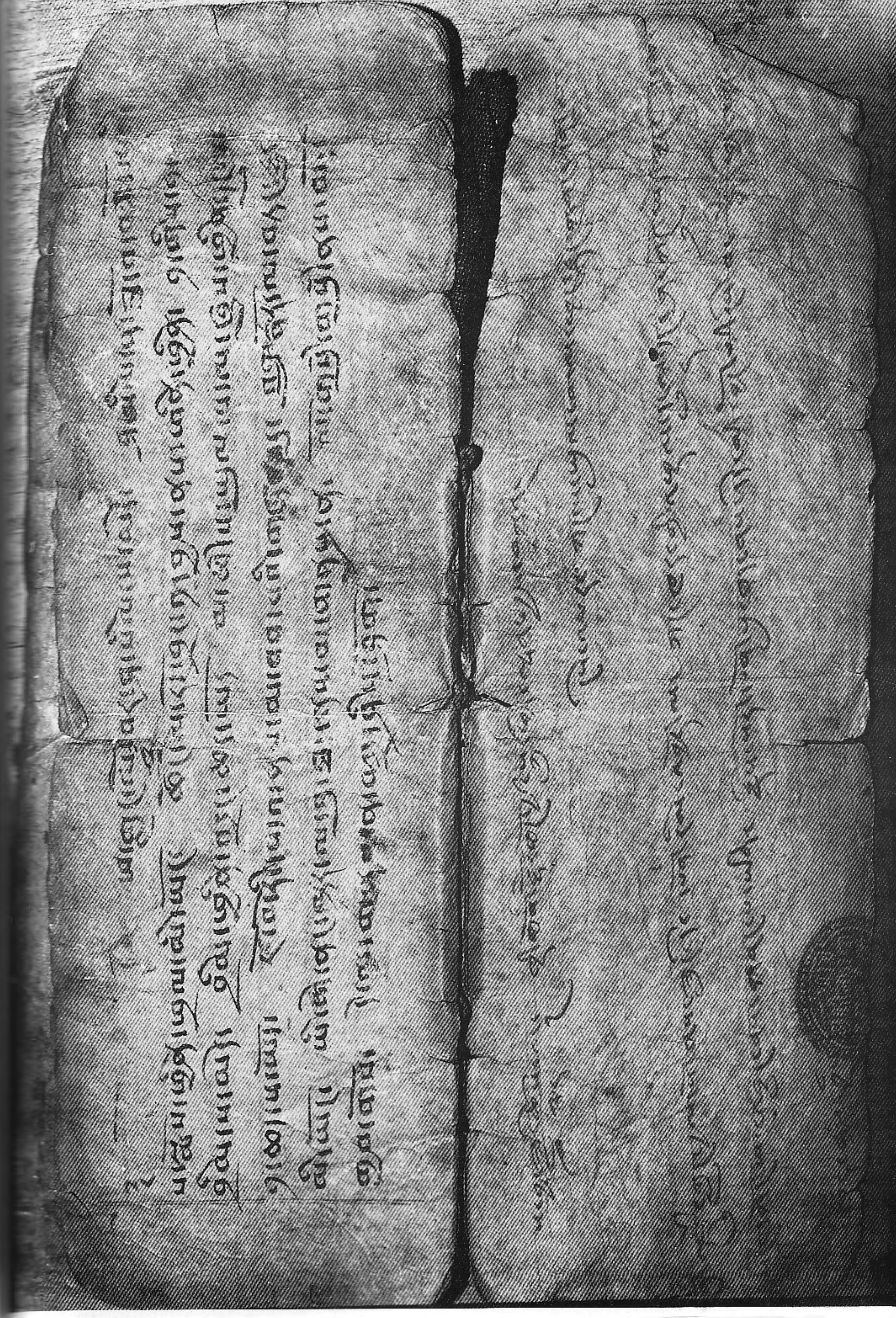
ཉམ་གཞི་ཞིག་ལ་རིང་ཞུ་ལ་ཏམ། ཕྱི་རྩ་ཚེ་ཤིན་ལ་མ། ཀྱང་ཡིན་ཞི་ཕྱུ་ལ་ལ་བཞིའི།
ཀག་ཏམ་པ་ལ་ར་ཚེ་ཀྱུ་ལྷམ། ཕྱེ་གུ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་ཤེ་ཕྱུ་ལ་ལ་རི་རྩི་ལ་མ། ཞིག་ལ
ལ་ཞལ་ཕྱུ་ཞིག་ག་ལ། ཕྱི་ཕྱུ་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ལ་ཞི་ལ་ཡིན། ༔ ཀྱ་ལ
[illegible] ཚེ་ཏུ་ལ་ཞམ་པ་ཕྱི་ལ་བཞི། ཀ་མ་ཞམ་ཀྱི་ཞི་ལ་ཙམ། ཀ་ལ
ལ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ཕྱུ་ལ་ལ་ཀ་རྫ་ལ་ཀ་ཚེ་པ་ཞི་ལ། ཞིག་པ་ལ་ཞལ་ཕྱུ་ཞིག་ག་ལ།
ཕྱིས་ཚ་ཞིག་ག་ལ། ཞབས་ཚ་ཞིག་ག་ལ། རབ་ཏུ་བཀོད་པ་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ལ་པ་ཀ་ལ་ཡིན།

༄༅།། ཕ་རྗེ་རེ་ཕྱུ་ཕྱུ་ལ་པ་ཕྱོགས། ཉེ་ཤེས་ཕྱི་ཡི་ཀ་ཞི་[illegible]
རབ་ཏུ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྒྲུབ་ཏུ། སྒྲུབ་ཕྱིན་ལ་ཀ་ཏུ། ཕྱ་ཞིམ་ཀ་ལ། ཀ་ཡ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལ
ཡིན།། ༔ ཕྱུ་ར་པ་ལ་དེ་ཀྱི་ཀ་རྫ་ལ། ཕྱུ་ར་ཕྱུ་ལ་ཞི་ཀྱ་པ་ཕྱུ་ལ་ཙ་ལ་མ། ཞིག་ཚ་ལ
ལ་ཞལ་ཕྱུ་ཞིག་ག་ལ། རཀ་ཀྱ་ལ་ལ་ཞི་ཀྱོ་ལ་ཏ། ཕྱུ་ར་ཀྱུ་ཀ་ཕྱུ་ལ་ལ་ཡ
ཕྱི་ལ་ཚེ་ལ་ཀ་པ་ཞི་ལ་ཀྱི། རྗེ་ཕྱུ་ཀྱུ་ལྷམ། རྗེ་ཕྱུ་ཀ་མ། ཀ་ལ་ལ་ཞི་ཀྱི་ལ་པ
ཡིན། [illegible]

[illegible]

༄༅།། རྒྱ་གར་སྐད་དུ། [illegible]

[illegible]



gifts shall be presented by the monks and laity.

When the *khri-thog-pa* comes to *sKag* and in order to institute an offering, the initiatory present shall be presented to the *khri-thog-pa* until the *'dam-mchod*[34] (ceremony) has been instituted.[35]"

13A

1. Z , źal-phud 'bul gos/ , Z , yul gyi khar-thor skor la , braṃ-1-
2. ma ćhos byed-sa med , bza'-mi kha spral-sa med , kha-1 lće-gñis byed-sa med
3. mja'-mi 'khon du bću-sa med , thun-po rcod du bćug-sa med , rkun-mo (phags)-
4. gćod byed-sa med , naṅ du ćhaṃ phyin ćhaṅ ka-ras gaṅ daṅ kha-thag ma-(gtogs) za (rgyu)
5. mi-yoṅ , a-las zas phyin , gñis-(phyogs) su yul-(khriṃs) 'gal-yoṅs , phyi-
6. bltaṃ naṅ du khug-pa ma-(gtogs) , naṅ-(bltaṃ) phyi ru skyal na' yul-khriṃs gal-yoṅs

1 'bul dgos , yul gyi kha-'thor 3 rkun-mo phag, 4 naṅ du 'ćhams 6 gtam naṅ du , naṅ-gtam phyi ru bskyal , 'gal-yoṅ

"Concerning disunity within the territory:

A *bram-1-ma*[36] must not enter a monastery.
Married couples must not be induced to divorce.
A mouth must not speak with two tongues.
(One) must not create discord among friends.
Strife must not be caused between those who are in harmony (with one another).
Theft must not be avenged in secret. If (an argument or theft) is avenged internally, nothing may be kept except a pot of beer and a ceremonial cloth. If money has been accepted (in this case), both parties have breached the law of the land.
News from the outside shall be passed to within. If, moreover, internal affairs are passed to the outside, one is breaching the law of the land."

13B

1. Z , [ ] pha-glaṅ lo-* 3 *-bar śa sil-sa med , śa sil na zo-ba b └ć┘ o- └lṅa'i┘
2. sa smos phyin phral mi-yoṅ , choṅ la (rogs) braṅ 1 byas nas phin phyin , 1 gis 1
3. brim-sa med , brim phyin 'draṅ-ćhad yod , ma ćhaṃ-pa yul-pa la źus phyin dṅul-
4. 1 ćhad-pa yod , jo-bo ri-dga' nas ma bab-ba'i gźan du , 'bru-rnor la btaṅ (rgyu)
5. mi-yoṅ , yi-ge naṅ-ltar la su-thad nas ma gnas na, lo gsuṃ-gsuṃ nas mod
6. gyab gos , de la gnas na bkra-śis śog ,

1 gsil-sa med śa gsil na 2 rmos phyin khral , 'braṅ 1 byas nas phyin phyin 3 'brim-sa , 'brim phyin 'braṅ-ćhad , ma 'cham-pa 4 mjo-bo ri-kha , 'bab-pa'i , 'bru-snor 5 nas dmod 6 rgyab dgos

"A bull must not be slaughtered within its first three years.[37] In cases where it is slaughtered, but where it has previously ploughed an area of 15 *zo-ba* (of seed), no tax is levied.

If friends form a trading group and travel abroad, one person must not leave another to fend for himself. If he does so leave him, there will be a 'group fine.' If the fact comes out that

they have not got along with one another, the fine is one *dnul*. Before the mjo-bo have been driven downhill from the mountain pastures, it is unlawful to pasture (animals) on the (fields of) stubble.

If anyone does not abide by this code of law, he shall be execrated for three years[38]. If a person follows it, may luck come (to him)."

Notes

1 This is Chinasin, the capital of Jumla.

2 For this term see Document 6, line 18 and Part I, 3.3., note 38.

3 See Pandey 1, p. 39-

4 See Schuh 6, p. 292-

5 This is the King of Jumla. As far as this double Śrī is concerned, it has to be mentioned that in legal documents issued by the Gorkha Kings, the intitulatio generally is headed by a triple Śrī.

6 Bod-rgya, p. 1094, quotes under the heading *ltoṅ-ka* the following sentence: *bgo-bśags mda'-mo'i ltoṅ-ka gśags-pa ltar rgyag dgos* "distribution should be done in such a way as if you cut a notch in an arrow".

7 *sku-rgyal* is the court fee to be paid by the winner of a court case. The amount is, as mentioned above, one *źo*.

8 According to this statement a judge is generally considered to be a representative of the king of Jumla, who is the highest authority in legal matters. The term *'o-'om* is a transcription of Nepāli *hukum* "order, government". *'O-'om-pa* therefore designates "a person who is giving orders".

9 From this we can conclude that the fee to be paid by the winner has to be handed over to the king of Jumla. It is not specifically mentioned wether this is also the case with the fee to be paid by the losing party.

10 *aṅ-ṅa* is a transcription of the Nepāli *āṅan* "courtyard". Here it means the open space before the customs post, which is possibly identical with the salt storage site (*chab-ra*) near the customs post.

11 *skye-skra* is a transcription of the Nepali *keṭo* "servant".

12 *san* is a common designation for dried pine-needles and pine-cones, which were collected in the forest every year.

13 The whole translation of this section is based on the assumption that the *phra* mentioned here is a mispelling of *khra* "falcon". This however is by no means certain and therefore this passage should be quoted only with great care.

14 According to Charles Ramble name of a forest area belonging to Kagbeni.

15 *ba-le* is a transcription of the Nepāli *bali* "offering". The festival mentioned here takes place in the second month of the winter, which roughly corresponds with the month January.

16 *a-ya* is a designation for a *bon-po*-priest, who need to perform the ceremony of sacrificing the animal in this festival. However, it has to be noted that he did not kill the animal himself. See Ramble 2, p. 54.

17 This is an annually performed ritual that centers about the killing of a yak. The offering ceremony was performed on the bank of the Kali Gandaki river and headed by an *a-ya*. Between the purchase of the animal and the day of its killing, at least three days had to elapse. Before the ceremony started, a red scarf called *srog-dar* was fastened to the neck of the animal. For

further details compare Ramble 2, p. 54-

18 Obviously an abbreviation for *bsṅo-ba daṅ rim-'gro.*

19 According to our local informants the big Stūpa of Kagbeni is either called *mćhod-rten dkar-po* or *ĵo-bo mćhod-rten.* The ceremony mentioned here is performed in front of this Stūpa.

20 *bag* is a transliteration of Nepali *bhāg* "portion".

21 The meaning of *ltar-pa* is unclear to me.

22 This ceremony is performed in front of the white stones, which are placed in the middle of the fields. These field stones can be found in the fields of all settlements in the Thakkola.

23 This is the cloth to be fastend on the white stone in the directions mentioned here.

24 Name of the place where buckwheat used to be dried. It is a custom in this area to harvest the buckwheat before it is completely ripe and spread it on the floor of this place. It is the duty of the *rgan-pa* and the *rol-po* to protect this place against animals and theft by human beings.

25 Ceremony to protect buckwheat against hail. It is normally performed in August. It comprises the offering of an animal in front of the red Stūpa of Kagbeni.

26 This festival is celebrated by all inhabitants of the Muktināth at the end of the summer. Our text makes a difference between the local *dByar-stoṅ*-festivals and the big *dByar-stoṅ*-festival. For detailed decription see Ramble, pp. 149-169.

27 According to our local informants *dmags-rgyugs* is a group of youth of specific age, which has the duty to carry out heavy labor on behalf of the village, as for instance the transportation of trunks. A similar group with the same designation exists in Northern Mustang up to now. Here this name refers to certain families, who are generally obliged to carry out heavy labour on behalf of the community. It is unclear to me if there is a connection between this group and the *rgya-dmag-pa*, who play a certain role in the big *mDos* ceremony (see Ramble 2, p. 53).

28 In connection with the cleaning of the water channels and the reservoir, both the *yur-byaṅ-ba* and the *rjiṅ-byaṅ-ṅa* are mentioned. They belong to the six *'cho* groups and are responsible for the financiing of the cleaning of channels and the reservoir. The *'cho* groups have to provide the bear, which is drunk during the work. For the cleaning itself each houshold has to provide one person.

29 *snag* is a local term for the sowing of the buckwheat. The channels and the reservoir were cleaned twice a year.

30 The term "external property" obviously referes to animals, harvest etc.

31 This rocky cliff is situated directly opposite to Kagbeni on the western site of the Kali Gandaki. It is strictly forbidden to grase goats on this rock, as falling stones could hurt persons using the path at its base.

32 *dbu-thod* is a designation for the turban, which is worn by an official as a sign of his official installment. Here it also designates the power vested in him. For this compare the well known two meanings of the term *dbu-rmog*.

33 *dpag-ri* is a transliteration of the Nepāli term *prahari* "solder, escort".

34 The meaning of the term *'dam-mćhod* is unclear to me.

35 This interpretation is far from being certain.

36 The meaning of this term is unclear to me.

37 This is obviously not referring to the lifetime of the bull but to the years in which he can be used for field work. This rule serves the purpose that there are enough animals availabe for the necessary field work.

38 This interpretation is far from being certain.

5. The Rise of the Tibetan Exclave in the Muktināth Valley and the Lineage of its Rulers up to the Middle of the 18th Century

The first thing one may do here is to recall the narrative chronicle of *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal* dealt with above. According to this narrative, the later lords of the castle of the Muktināth valley came from Jumla. They settled in the Muktināth valley, where the first thing they did was to construct the fortress of *rJoṅ*.

Much more reliable information concerning the origin of the lords of the castle is obtained in the biography of *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*, a priest who was himself a member of the same noble family, and who lived in the second half of the 17th century. Snellgrove was the first person to draw attention to this priest and to his biography.[1] Jackson gives 1646-1723 as his lifetime.[2] Of these two dates, it is only the death year, 1723, that appears to me to be not subject to doubt. According to the biography of *bSod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug* (1660-1731), which was edited and translated by Snellgrove, *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* died in the 64th year of that priest - that is, in the year 1723. One indication of the birth year is found on fol. 7r of *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*'s biography. There it is mentioned that during the war between the government of Central Tibet and Bhutan all followers of the *Dvags-po bka'-brgyud* school in Tibet wore a thick piece of woollen thread as a mark of identification, which they had to tie around their throat. Their freedom of movement was restricted. Travellers and people having no fixed place of residence were interned. The same fate befell *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*, even though he belonged to the Sa-skya school. *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* was 16 years old at the time. It is unclear, however, which of the numerous military conflicts between the Tibetan government of the Fifth Dalai Lama and Bhutan is being referred to here. If it is the Tibetan invasion of 1657, *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*'s year of birth would fall in 1642. If, however, the earlier conflict between Tibet and Bhutan in the years 1644-1646 is what is meant, then *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* would have been born even before 1640.

The following account is found in *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*'s biography concerning the origin of his family (source A):

[1v,5] rje-bcun ras-pa de-ñid rigs-rus ni / blon
[1v,6] la sña-ba byams-pa thob-rgyal źes-pa'i gduṅ bzaṅ brgyud dpon du grags-pa de yin gsuṅs / mṅa'-ri guṅ-thaṅ ćhab-'og nas ćhos-rgyal ñi-ma-mgon gyi phyag-g.yog
[1v,7] la stod gu-ger phebs nas, gu-ge-pa'i ćhuṅ gi 'brog-pa źes-par ćhags so / de nas sde-pa a-ma-dpal gyi bos nas smon-thaṅ skye-skya-sgaṅ du bźugs / de-phan

[2r,1] dpon-druṅ skye-skya-sgaṅ-pa źes-pa'i miṅ 'jags / skye-skya-sgaṅ du bźugs-bźin nas dpon-druṅ khro-rgyal-rdo-rje sras ćhuṅ-ba rab-brtan-mgon-pos

/ gu-ge spu-raṅ kar-dum gyi rjoṅ-dpon la phebs lo-drug bźugs nas smon-thaṅ rgyal-mo la 'bags
[2r,2] nas sde-pas dkroṅs / gćen-po khro-po-skyabs-pas blo-smad rab-rgyal-rce-mo'i rjoṅ-dpon la phebs nas da-lta'i bar yin / rab-brtan-mgon-po'i sras che-brtan-rdo-rje źes-pa a-khu khro-bo-sbyabs-pas bos nas rab-rgyal-rce-mor phebs nas dpon-druṅ kun gyi a-khu

[2r,3] dpon-sa źes-pas / de phan rigs-rus la skye-skya-sgaṅ-pa'i dpon-sa źes 'jags-pa yin / che-brtan-rdo-rje'i sras la rdo-rje-dbaṅ-phyug / rdo-rje-dbaṅ-phyug la sras gsum / rdo-rje-'phan-dar bla-ma-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mchan daṅ gsum / rdo-rje-rab-ćhad-'phan-dar la sras bzaṅ-po-ćhos-skyoṅ
[2r,4] bla-ma ćhos-dṅos-grub daṅ gsum / bzaṅ-po-rab-ćhad-ćhos-skyoṅs la sras bdun / lhun-grub-'byor-ra gñis kyi rigs-rgyud-spel gźan-lṅa ćhos-byas bla-brgyud 'jin-mkhan bla-ma ćhos-'jin-dpal-bzaṅ yin / dpon-sa-lhun-grub kyis sras che-dbaṅ-rigs-'jin /

[2r,5] che-dbaṅ gis sras bsod-nams-mgon-po yin / dpon-sa-'byor-ra la sras miṅ-sriṅ drug 'khruṅs-pa'i bar-ba che-dbaṅ-rab-stan (s) ṅa-raṅ yin gsuṅs / sras ćhe-ba che-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal gyi lo bću-gćig / ṅa lo bdun tha-gćuṅ gis lo gñis lon dus / pha 'byor-
[2r,6] ra-rgya-mcho lo so-gñis la che'i-dus-byas / ...
... / de'i dus rgyal-blon-gñis 'khrugs nas bkag-rjoṅ la sde-pas phyag-'bebs gnaṅ / dpon-druṅ-skye-skya-sgaṅ-pa'i rgyab la 'jum-laṅ rgyal-po'i dmag yoṅ nas
[2r,7] mi-maṅ bsad / phyi-nor thams-ćad dgra'i khyer naṅ-nor yod-chad rgyal-po'i kha-ca dmag-rgyags la khyer / lto-dgos ma-'byor ma-bu (thams-ćad) sdug-bsṅal gyi non-pa yin /

1v,6 la mṅa'-ba, mna'-ris 1v,7 sde-pa a-ma-dpal gyis 2r,2 sde-pas, skyabs-pas 2r,5 gćuṅ gi 2r,7 dgras khyer, lto gos

"As regards the lineage of this venerable deceased *ras-pa*, he has said[3] that it is the (lineage) renowned as the *dpon(-po)*[4]lineage of hallowed origin, that of the man called *Byams-pa thob-rgyal*, who was of (all) ministers (of Tibet) the very first one[5].

As servants of the *ćhos-rgyal sKyid-sde-ñi-ma-mgon*[6], they travelled from the subjects of *mṅa'-ris Guṅ-thaṅ* to *Gu-ge* in *sTod* and settled down in the (region of) *Gu-ge* that is called *Phir-ćuṅ gi 'brog-pa*.

Having been summoned by *A-ma-dpal*, the *sde-pa* of Mustang (*blo-bo*), they resided in *sKye-skya sgaṅ*[7] in *sMon-thaṅ*. The name *dpon-dru sKye-skya-sgaṅ-ba* existed from that time onwards.

During the time they resided in *sKye-skya-sgaṅ*, *Rab-brtan-mgon-po*, the younger son of the *dpon-druṅ Khro-rgyal-rdo-rje*, travelled as the district head (*rjoṅ-dpon*) of *Kar-dum* in *sPu-raṅ* from *Gu-ge*. After he had stayed there for six years, he was killed by the *sde-pa* because he had defiled the queen of *sMon-thaṅ*[8].

(Thereafter (lit. when)) the elder brother, *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*, came to Lower Mustang (*blo-smad*) as the district head (*rjoṅ-dpon*) of *Rab-rgyal-rce-mo*[9], (and) they have been there up to the present.

Che-brtan-rdo-rje, the elder son of *Rab-brtan-mgon-po*, came to *Rab-rgyal-rce-mo*, having been summoned by his uncle *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*, and (afterwards) was named the *a-khu-dpon-sa* of all *dpon-druṅ*. Thus the title *dpon-sa* of the *sKye-skya-sgaṅ-ba* existed from that time onwards.

rDo-rje-dbaṅ-phyug was the son of *Che-brtan-rdo-rje*. *rDo-rje-dbaṅ-phyug* had three sons, namely *rDo-rje*, *'Phan-dar* and the *bla-ma bsTan-pa'i-*

rgyal-mchan. rDo-rje was without child.

'Phan-dar had as sons these three, namely *bZaṅ-po*, *Ćhos-skyoṅ* and the *bla-ma Ćhos-dṅos-grub*. *bZaṅ-po* was without child. *Ćhos-skyoṅ* had seven sons. Of them, *lHun-grub* and *'Byor-ra* increased the lineage. The other five became priests. Of the latter, the *bla-ma Ćhos-'jin-dpal-bzaṅ* was the one who belonged to a *bla-ma* tradition.

The son of the *dpon-sa lHun-grub* was *Che-dbaṅ-rig-'jin*. The son of *Che-dbaṅ* was *bSod-nams-mgon-po*. Six sons and daughters were born as children to the *dpon-sa 'Byor-ra*. I am *Che-dbaṅ-rab-brtan*, the middle one of them, he said.

When the eldest (son) *Che-dbaṅ-rgnam-rgyal* was eleven, I seven and the youngest (son) two years old, (our) father, *'Byor-ra-rgya-mcho* died at the age of 32.

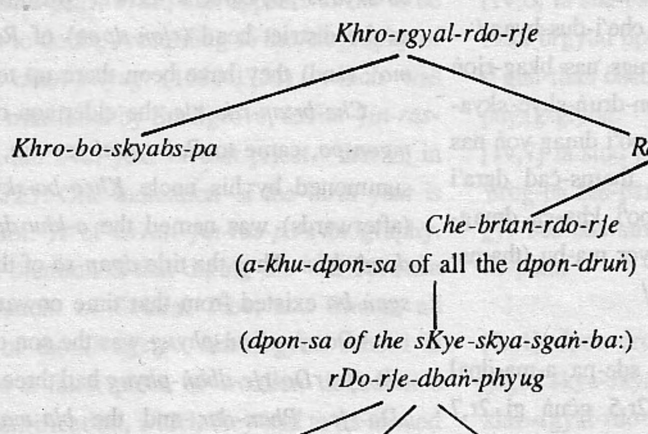
During this time a quarrel arose between the king and minister[10], in consequence of which the *sde-pa* seized[11] *bKag* and *rJoṅ*. When the troops of the king of Jumla came to the aid of the *dpon-druṅ sKye-skya-sgaṅ-pa*, many men were killed. All external property[12] was carried off by the enemy, and all internal possessions were taken as food for the king (of Jumla) and as rations for the troops. Given that they obtained neither food nor clothing, they all, mother and sons, were made to suffer."

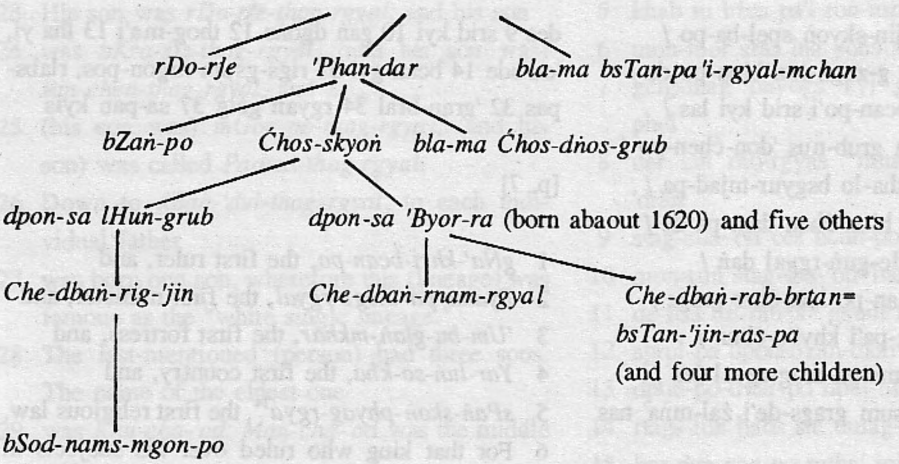
From the information provided by *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa*, the following structure of his family's genealogy emerges:

Byams-pa-thob-rgyal, the minister (*blon*) of King *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po* (the first king of Tibet, not explicitly mentioned in the biography)

In the retinue of King *Ñi-ma-mgon* they went to West Tibet (10th century) and settled in *Gu-ge*.

Resettled from *Gu-ge* to Mustang under *A-ma-dpal* (first half of the 15th century). Settled in *sKye-skya-ga*, from which the lineage name *sKye-skya-gaṅ-pa* derives.





It may first be noted that the *dpon-druṅ Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* mentioned here is identical with the *spu-druṅ Khro-skyab-pa* of the *bem-ćhag* of Kagbeni, *spu-druṅ* doubtless being a corrupt form of *dpon-druṅ*.

The tracing of the roots of this lineage to a minister of the first Tibetan king, *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po*, and the claimed connection with the rule of King *Ñi-ma-mgon*, who founded a kingdom in West Tibet, are doubtless of utmost significance ideologically for the self-image of the princes of the Muktināth valley.

It should be emphasized that the genealogy following *Khro-bo-skyab-pa* shows only the *dpon-sa* line of this princely family. The descendants of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa* who ruled the Muktināth valley are not mentioned. Further, there is no specific indication in the biography of *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* of the lifetime of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*, who established the rule of this princely family over the Muktināth valley. It is only from the number of past generations that one can form an approximate idea, by assuming 25 years as the period of one generation. Accordingly, around 1520 *Khro-bo-skyab-pa* would have been about 25 years old.

The ideologically inflated derivation from a minister of the first Tibetan king is provided in great detail in a *dkar-ćhag* text accompanying a manuscript of the *bKa'-thaṅ ga'u-ma*, a text from Kagbeni whose existence D. Jackson first pointed out.[13] The genealogy given in this *dkar-ćhag* is itself based on a more detailed text, which is listed on p. 9 as *dKar-ćhag kun-gsal me-loṅ.*

The portions of the text concerning the genealogy of the princes of Muktināth are reproduced here in the original and in translation (source B).

[p. 7]

1 rje la mṅa'-ba gña'-khri-bcan-po daṅ /
2 blon la mṅa'-ba byams-pa thog-rgyal daṅ /
3 mkhar la sṅa'-ba 'um-bu glaṅ-mkhar daṅ /
4 yul * la * sṅa-ba yar-luṅ so-kha daṅ /
5 ćhos la sṅa-ba spaṅ-skoṅ phyag-rgya daṅ /
6 mṅa'-ris ćhos-bźin skyoṅ-ba rgyal-po de'i /

7 lugs-gñis srid kyi 'jin-skyoṅ spel-ba-po /
8 'jam-dbyaṅs mi yis g-zugs-ćan blon-po de /
9 sa-bdag gña'-khri-bcan-po'i srid kyi las /
10 ma-smras gaṅ-dgoṅ grub-nus 'don-ćhen-po /
11 bod-yul gliṅ-bźi'i kha-lo bsgyur-mjad-pa /
12 kun gyis thog-ma'i blon-ćhen dam-pa de /
13 lha yis yul du 'od-de-guṅ-rgyal daṅ /
14 bcan gyi yul du bcan-po kha-ćher grags /
15 dmu-daṅ klu ru rig-pa'i khyi'u-ćhuṅ /
16 mi-yul bod du byams-pa-thog-rgyal źes /
17 mchan-sñan srid-gsum grags-de'i źal-mṅa' nas /
18 ṅa'i rus gyi (nam-mkha'i) thogs daṅ ni /
19 'og gdon rci-rci ja la sa-bdag nad /
20 mje daṅ phol-mig źaṅ-'brum bar du ni /
21 gdoṅ-thug rgyal-zer nad-rigs sna-dgu thub /
22 lha-'dre mi-gsum thams-ćad dbaṅ du 'dus /
23 de-sras rdo-rje-thog-rgyal de'i sras /
24 (bkra-śis)-thog-rgyal rin-ćhen-thog-rgyal daṅ /
25 mgon-po-thog-rgyal (pad-ma)-thog-rgyal źes /
26 dbaṅ-'dul-thog-rgyal bar du yab re-rer /
27 sras-re 'khruṅs-pa *g*ćig-rgyud dkar-po grags /
28 de la sras-gsum mṅa'-ba phu-bo'i mchan /
29 khu-cha-'od daṅ 'briṅ-bar maṅ-cha-'od /
30 bćuṅ-por stag-cha-'od-de mćhed-gsum mo /
31 de-gsum rig-gsum-mgon-po'i byin-rlabs-pa'i /
32 'dran-bral mćhed-gsum 'od-źes rab du grags /
33 'jam-gliṅ kun tu grags-pa'i sku-mćhed-gsum /
34 'jam-gliṅ brgyan-gćig dpal-ldan sa-skya ru /
35 'jam-gliṅ 'ćhab-'baṅ bde la 'god-pa'i phyir /
36 'jam-gliṅ khyon-kun 'khor-lo bsgyur bźin pheb*s* /
37 'jam-pa'i dbyaṅs dṅos 'gro-mgon sa-pan kyi /
38 'das daṅ ma-'oṅ da-lta dus-gsum dgoṅs /

1 rje la sṅa-ba 2 blon la sṅa-ba 3 mkhar la sṅa-ba 4 yul la sṅa-ba 5 ćhos la sṅa-ba 8 mi yi, blon-po des 9 srid kyi 10 gaṅ dgoṅs 12 thog-ma'i 13 lha yi, 'od-sde 14 bcan gyi 31 rigs-gsum-mgon-pos, rlabs-pas 32 'gran-bral 34 rgyan gćig 37 sa-paṇ kyis

[p. 7]

1 *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po*, the first ruler, and
2 *Byams-pa-thogs-rgyal*, the first minister, and
3 *'Um-bu-glaṅ-mkhar*, the first fortress, and
4 *Yar-luṅ-so-kha*, the first country, and
5 *sPaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya*[14], the first religious law.
6 For that king who ruled over his subjects in accordance with the religious law
7 he was the person who spread the practice of rule according to the two ways of conduct.
8 Because that minister, in whom Mañjughoṣa had assumed the form of a man,
9 was able to perform the sovereign duties of the ruler *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po*
10 as desired, without being called upon to do so, he was of great power.
11 He who controled the four main parts (*gliṅ*) of Tibet,
12 who in everyone's eyes was the first holy chief minister,
13 he was famous in the country of the *lHa* as *'Od-sde-guṅ-rgyal* and
14 in the country of the *bCan* as *bCan-po kha-ćhe*.
15 Among the *dMu* and the *Klu* he was called *Rig-pa'i khyi'i-ćhuṅ*,
16 and in the country of men *Byams-pa-thog-rgyal*.
17 From the mouth of him who is famed in the Three Worlds came the words:...

22 The gods, the demons and men - all of them he brought under his control.

23 His son was *rDo-rJe-thog-rgyal*, and his son

24 was *bKra-śis-thog-rgyal*, (and his son was) *Rin-ćhen-thog-rgyal*, and

25 (his son was) *mGon-po-thog-rgyal*, (and his son) was called *Padma-thog-rgyal.*

26 Down to *dBaṅ-'dul-thog-rgyal*, to each individual father

27 was born one son, wherefore this (lineage) was famous as the "white single lineage."

28 The last-mentioned (person) had three sons. The name of the eldest one

29 was *Khu-cha-'od. Maṅ-cha-'od* was the middle one.

30 *sTag-cha-'od* was the youngest one. They were three brothers.

31 Because they were blessed by *Rigs-gsum-mgon-po*,

32 they were well known as "the incomparable three *'Od* brothers".

33 They were the three brothers renowned throughout the whole world.

34 To the lone adornment of the world, the glorious *Sa-skya*,

35 they came in order to lead the world's subjects to well-being,

36 and controlled the world's whole territory.

37 The true Mañjughoṣa, the lord of the living beings *Sa-skya-paṇḍita*,

38 recalling the three times, the past, the future and the present,

[p. 8]

1 rigs-bzaṅ mkha'-'gro'i mchan-ldan bu-mo gñis /

2 khab du scal-ba gus-pas daṅ du blaṅs /

3 roṅ-mo gser-gyi-go-ćog-ćan daṅ ni /

4 mon-mo g.yu-yis-go-ćog-ćan źes gñis /

5 khab tu bźes-pa'i roṅ-mor sras drug daṅ /

6 mon-mor sras lṅa yoṅs su bsdom-pa na /

7 gćig-lhag phyogs kyi graṅ-ldan gduṅ-rgyud phel

8 dar źiṅ rab-rgyas *mṅa'*-mthaṅ gsum-brcen 'dran

9 stag-cha-'od ćes bćuṅ-po de-ñid la /

10 mon-roṅ stag-lha-'od-'bar bya-ba khruṅs /

11 de-nas mi-rab*s* gsum nas gsaṅ-bdag gi /

12 sprul-pa dpon-bzaṅ-dkar-po bya-ba 'khruṅs /

13 dpon-po-dkar-po dpal-ldan sa-skya-pa'i /

14 rtags-luṅ babs ste dmag-dpon dam-kha gnaṅ /

15 hor daṅ sog-po mtha' mi sdug-pa-ćan /

16 dpa'-po khyed daṅ khyed kyi rgyud bćas gyis /

17 'dul-skal las-'phro yod-pas da-lta raṅ /

18 chaṅs-pa bkra-śis-mgon gyis pho-ña daṅ /

19 ćhab*s gćig smon-thaṅ phyogs su byon {pa} dgos gsuṅs /

20 khyed kyis mi-rab skal-pa srid-mtha'i bar /

21 dar źiṅ rgyas la phyogs las rnams-par rgyal /

22 ma-'oṅ yul der mgo-nag yoṅs kyis rje /

23 mṅa'-'baṅ ćhos-bźin skyoṅ źes luṅ-bstan gnaṅ /

24 'jam-dbyaṅs sa-skya'i *bka'*-brcal daṅ du blaṅs /

25 phyi naṅ bar gsum hor daṅ mtha' yis dmag /

26 gdug-pa-ćan rnams ma-lus char-bćad nas /

27 luṅ-bstan bźin du * raṅ gi * rgyal-srid kyaṅ*s* /

28 skya-rgyal-gaṅ gis sa yis thig-ler bźugs /

29 de nas zuṅ ste skya-rgyal-sgaṅ-par grags /

30 de'i sras ma-saṅs-khro-bo-'bum źes daṅ /

31 de'i rigs-sras khro-bo-skya-pa te /

32 lugs gñis mkhyen-pa'i pad-chal rab-skyed nas /

33 raṅ-sde skyoṅ źiṅ bźan-sde gzil gyis mnon /

34 dge-'dun-sde chugs bstan-'jin sku*r*-stis mćhod

35 sṅon-byon ćhos-rgyal goṅ-ma'i rnam-thar skyaṅ*s* /
36 de-sras sgron-ma-rin-ćhen de yis sras /
37 khro-bo-zil-gnon mchan daṅ don mthun 'khruṅs /

4 g.yu-yi 5 khab tu bźes-pas 7 graṅs-ldan, rgyud 'phel 8 thaṅ gsum-rcen 'gran 10 mon-roṅ, bya-ba 'khruṅs 14 bab ste 15 gdug-pa-ćan 16 bćas kyi 18 gyi pho 20 kyi mi-rabs bskal-pa 21 rnam-par 22 kyi rje 23 mṅa'-baṅs, skyoṅs źes 24 bka'-scal 25 mtha' yi 27 rgyal-srid bskyaṅs 28 gi sa yi 29 bzuṅ ste 30 skya-pa ste 33 gyis gnon 34 sde bcugs, bkur-stis 35 rnam-thar bskyaṅs 36 de yi sras

[p. 8]

1 granted them as wives two girls of good background, who possessed the features of *mKha'-'gro-ma*.
2 They accepted them reverentially.
3 After they had married the ones called *Ser-gyi-go-ćog-ćan*, who came from the steep-rimmed valleys of the south (*Roṅ-mo*), and
4 *g.Yu-yis-go-ćog-ćan*, who came from *Mon* (*Mon-mo*). To *Roṅ-mo* were (born) six sons, and
5 to *Mon-mo* five sons, so that - if a reckoning is made,
6 with a figure that represents, lacking one, the (twelve) directions of the firmament - they increased
8 and spread the lineage. Thanks to this the (family's) power was equal to heaven.
9 To the youngest one, called *sTag-chaṅ-'od*,
10 *mon-roṅ sTag-lha-'od-'bar* was born.
11 Afterwards, three generations later, the incarnation of Vajrapāṇi,
12 the one called *dPon-bzaṅ-dkar-po* was born.
13 To *dPon-po-dkar-po* fell, from the *Sa-skya-pa*,
14 the mark of a prophecy, and he was granted the seal of a commanding officer.
15 "In view of the Turks (*hor*) and the Mongols (*sog-po*), these evil neighbours on the border,
16 it is (sealed) fate and duty that they should be tamed by you,
17 O hero, and your descendants. It is necessary that you immediately
18 travel to Mustang now with the emissaries to (the court of King) *Chaṅs-pa bKra-śis-mgon*[15]."
19 Such words were spoken.
20 "Your lineage will spread and grow to the end of this cosmic era
21 and gain victory over all the directions of the firmament.
22 In the future you will reign, as ruler of all men of that country,
23 over the subjects according to the religious law." Thus it was prophesied.
24 He accepted the instructions of the *Sa-skya-(pa)*, the Mañjughoṣa.
25 By destroying the Turks (*hor*) and the evil groups of the border peoples without, within and between,
26 down to the last man,
27 he exercised his own rule in accordance with the prophecy.
28 He resided in the centre of the territory of *sKya-rgyal-gaṅ*.
29 From then on they were known as *sKya-rgyal-sgaṅ-pa*.
30 His son was called *Khro-bo-'bum*, and
31 the son from his lineage was *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*.
32 By generating in himself the lotus grove of

knowledge of the two ways of conduct,

33 he protected his own subjects and subdued the subjects of the others.

34 He founded monasteries and reverently brought offerings to the adherents of the (Buddhist) teaching.

35 He zealously imitated the deeds of the Dharma-rāja who had previously come.

36 His son was *sGrol-ma-rin-ćhen*, and his son,

37 *Khro-bo-zil-gnon*, was born as one whose (character) conformed to the meaning of his name.

[p. 9]

1 de-sras khro-bo-rnams-rgyal bya-ba daṅ /

2 de-sras che-gnas-rgyal-po de'i sras /

3 ṅag-dbaṅ-*g.yul-las*-rnams-*par*-rgyal-*ba* 'khruṅs /

4 de'i sras bde-mćhog-rnam-rgyal bya-ba 'khruṅs /

5 de la sras gćig khruṅs-pa'i dge-mchan ni /

6 dbaṅ-drag-'bar-ba bya-ba'i skyes-mćhog byuṅ /

7 de'i sras gćig sa-skyoṅ mi'i dbaṅ-po /

8 ćhos kyis rgyal-po khro-bo-dpal-mgon byuṅ /

9 de-sras drug gi phu-bo lug*s* gñis la /

10 mkhyen-pa'i spyan yaṅs yab kyis srid 'jin-pa /

11 mi yis dbaṅ-po zil-mnon-rnams-rgyal 'khruṅs /

12 de-sras phul-byuṅ mkhyen-pa'i gter-mjod 'jin /

13 źal-ras zla-źun śel-snod phos 'dra-ba /

14 srid kyi rgyud-'jin mgo-nag mi yi rje /

15 sa-skyoṅ khro-bo-khams-gsum bya-ba 'khruṅs /

16 gźan yaṅ sku-mćhed ćhe-ćhuṅ-'briṅ rnams kun /

17 'jug-sdom dkar-ćhags kun-gsal-me-loṅ na /

18 legs-par gsal-bas mkhyen-ldan rnams gyis gzigs

1 rnam-rgyal 3 rnam-par 5 gćig 'khruṅs 8 ćhos kyi 10 yab kyi 11 mi yi, zil-gnon-rnam 13 zla-śun 17 dkar-ćhag 18 rnams kyis

[p. 9]

1 His son was called *Khro-bo-rnam-rgyal*, and

2 his son was *Che-gnas-rgyal-po*.

3 *Ṅag-dbaṅ-g.yul-las-rnam-rgyal* was born as his son.

4 The one called *bDe-mćhog-rnam-rgyal* was born as his son.

5 As regards the hallowed signs, that a son was born to him,

6 the supreme man resulted, who was called *dBaṅ-drag-'bar-ba.*

7 The ruler and lord over men turned out to be one of his sons,

8 the Dharmarāja *Khro-bo-dpal-mgon*.

9 *Zil-gnon-rnam-rgyal* was born as the eldest of his six sons, having a broad knowledgeable view of the two types of rules of conduct

10 and assuming the rule of his father

11 (as) the lord of men.

12 His excellent son possessed the treasure of knowledge.

13 His countenance was like an overflowing glass container from Cambodia.

14 To him who kept the tradition of rule, the lord of men,

15 was born the ruler of the earth *Khro-bo-khams-gsum*.

16 The other elder, younger and middle siblings - they are

17 all easily determined from the summary *dkar-ćhag* text *Kun-gsal-me-loṅ*.

18 Thus may knowledgeable persons look into (it).

This results in the following genealogy of the prince of the Muktināth valley:

Byams-pa-thogs-rgyal (minister of King *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po*)

rDo-rje-thog-rgyal

bKra-śis-thog-rgyal

Rin-ćhen-thog-rgyal

mGon-po-thog-rgyal

Padma-thog-rgyal

dBaṅ-'dul-thog-rgyal

(At the time of *Sa-skya-paṇḍita*, middle of the 13th century. Two wives from the southern steep-rimmed valleys, called *Mon-mo* and *Roṅ-mo*.)

Khu-cha-'od *Maṅ-cha-'od* *sTag-cha-'od*

mon-roṅ sTag-lha-'od-'bar

(three generations)

dPon-bzaṅ-dkar-po
(Sent by the *Sa-skya-pa* to the court of the king of Mustang *Chaṅs-pa bKra-śis-mgon* (second half of the 15th century). Resided in *sKya-rgal-sgaṅ*.)

Khro-bo-'bum

Khro-bo-skyab-pa (16th century)

sGrol-ma-rin-ćhen

Khro-bo-zil-gnon

Khro-bo-rnam-rgyal

Che-gnas-rgyal-po (2nd half of the 17th century)

Ṅag-dbaṅ-g.yul-las-rnam-rgyal

bDe-mćhog-rnam-rgyal

dBaṅ-drag-'bar-ba

Khro-bo-dpal-mgon (about 1800 A.D.)

Zil-gnon-rnam-rgyal (1st half of the 18th century)

Khro-bo-khams-gsum

The most important historical inconsistency between this *dkar-ćhag* text and the autobiography of *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* is in the name given to the father of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*. In the former he is called *Khro-rgyal-rdo rje*, and in the latter *Khro-bo-'bum*. A further striking feature is that no mention is made of any connection between the lineage of the princes of Muktināth and King *Ñi-ma-mgon*. It is instead the *Sa-skya-pa* who now play the dominant role in legitimizing the lineage's claim to power.

For purposes of chronology, the fact that *dPon-bzaṅ-dkar-po*, the grandfather of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*, is mentioned as a contemporary of the Mustang king *bKra-śis-mgon* (death year 1489) would appear to be significant. This may validate the above-mentioned dating of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*. Another indication of the chronology can be found in the work of F.K. Ehrhard on the "Tibetan Sources on Muktināth." According to the latter, both the priest

O-rgyan-dpal-bzaṅ and his successor *Kun-bzaṅ-kloṅ-yaṅs* were contemporaries of the prince (*dpon-druṅ khri-pa*) *Che-gnas-rgyal-po*, whom both met around 1677/78, and who presumably died around 1680. *Che-gnas-rgyal-po* represented the fourth generation after *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*, from which it may be concluded that *Khro-bo-skyab-pa* must have been some 25 years old within the period from 1550 to 1580.

From the dating of *Che-gnas-rgyal-po* we can also draw conclusions as to the age of the present *dkar-ćhag* text. Since the text lists six further generations after *Che-gnas-rgyal-po*, it must have originated in the 18th century. The second and third princes from the end of the present *dkar-ćhag* text are mentioned as addressees of official documents written by Nepalese kings and filmed in 1985 (cf. above 1.3.1.). *Khro-bo-dpal-mgon* is the addressee of two official documents from the years 1790 and 1792 (ADSD, documents 2, 3, there are mentioned as Ṭopāla Biṣṭa) and *Zil-gnon-rnam-rgyal* is mentioned by name as Silin (≈ Silīm ≈ Silam ≈ Silim) Namgyāla Biṣṭa in official documents dating to 1820, 1826, 1827, 1830 and 1834 (ADSD, documents 12, 14, 15, 18, 19).

A further source on the history of the princes of the Muktināth valley has been provided to us in the form of a small *dkar-chag* text attached to a choice manuscript belonging to *rGya-tog-gser-gsum*, which was prepared on the occasion of the death of *sGrol-ma-rin-ćhen*, the son and successor of *Khro-bo-skyab-pa*. This text obviously represents a source that, given its age, surpasses all previously mentioned sources on the history of the princes of Muktināth. The passages in this *dkar-ćhag* text that deal with the history of the princes of Muktināth are edited and translated in the following (source C):

rmon-thaṅ rgyal-po'i źaṅ-blon ćhen-po 'di'i /
gduṅ-rabs mu-tig phreṅ-ltar byon-chul ni /
thog-mar 'od-sde dgu-rgyal źes-bya ba /
lha las legs ćad lha-rigs ma-ćhad-pa /
byams-pa thog-rgyal bar du rim-par byon /
sa-skyoṅ dbaṅ-po gña'-khri rcad-po nas /
bzuṅ ste mi-dbaṅ 'bum-sde mgon gyi bar /
bka' yi blon-po źabs-'degs rim-par mjad /
ćhos-rgyal 'bum-sde-mgon gyi sku-riṅ la /
bka' yi blon-po dpon-seṅ-dkar-por grags /
de'i gduṅ-'jin ma-bzaṅ khro-bo 'bum /
gaṅ-des smon-thaṅ rgyal-po'i źaṅ-blon mjad /
skya-rgyal-gaṅ gi sa yi thig-le bzuṅ /
skya-rgyal-gaṅ-pa źes su de nas grags /
ema 'jvam-dbaṅs legs-pa'i 'byuṅ-gnas gsuṅ gis
luṅ-bstan mćhog-brñes-pa /
ćhos-blon ćhen-po khro-bo skyab-pa sras daṅ
bćas-pa'i ñi-ma ni /
sṅon-bsags bsod-nams rta-bdun gyis draṅs rab-rgyal śar-ri'i rcer son te /
rnam-dpyod mjad-pa bzaṅ-po 'od-zer phyogs-brgyar rab tu 'phros-pa las /
rnam-dag bstan-pa ñin-mor mjad-pa daṅ /
'khor-'baṅs bde-skyid pad-chal rgyas-pa daṅ /
rgol-ṅan mun-pa'i chogs-rnams 'jvoms-pa gsum /
dus-gćig mjad-pa 'di ni e-ma-mchar //
de-ltar mjad-pa bzaṅ-po'i dpal-mṅa'-ba /
ćhos-blon ćhen-po sgrol-ma'i mchan-ćan de /
raṅ-gźan bde-ba'i thabs-ćhen mjad nas kyaṅ /
kye-ma źiṅ-gźan phebs-pa'i chul-bstan to /
gaṅ gi dgoṅs-pa yoṅs su rjogs-phyir du /
rnam-dkar dge-ba rgya-ćhen sgrub-chul ni /
thog-mar źiṅ-gźan gśegs-pa nas bzuṅ ste /
źag-graṅs bću-phrag bźi daṅ lṅa'i bar /
bla-ma dam-pa kun-dga'-rgyal-mchan daṅ /
źabs-druṅ dam-pa byams-pa-bsod-nams kyis /
gco-mjad dge-'dun bću-phrag brgyad-lhag gis

kun-rig ćho-ga khri-char lhag-cam sgrubs //

1 smon-thaṅ 18 rnam spyod

"As for the manner in which the lineage of this great ministers (*żaṅ-blon*) of the King of Mustang (*smon-thaṅ*) came down like a string of pearls,
they firstly separated in order from the god called *'Od-sde-dgu-rgyal*
without being deprived of their divine origin
and proceeded sucessively down to *Byams-pa-thog-rgyal.*
Starting from *gÑa'-khri-rcad-po*, the mighty one, who governed the earth,
down to the ruler *'Bum-sde-mgon*[16],
they served sucessively as ministers.
During the lifetime of the *ćhos-rgyal 'Bum-sde-mgon*
(the member of this lineage) was well known as minister
dPon-seṅ-dkar-po.
One of his descendants, *ma-bzaṅ Khro-bo-'bum*,
was the person who served as minister (*żaṅ-blon*) of the King of Mustang (*smon-thaṅ*).
He occupied the centre of the place *sKya-rgyal-gaṅ*.
From this they became known by the (family) name *sKya-rgyal-gaṅ-pa*.
Hey! The sun of those who obtained the highest prophesy by the words of the Mañjughoṣa, who is the origin of all that is good,[17]
of the great religious minister *Khro-bo-skyab-pa* and his sons,
went to the "peak" of the eastern mountain of the "supreme victory"[18] due to the merits accumulated before and drawn by the seven horses, and the rays of (their) good deeds were spread to all directions.
Due to this, they appeared as the sun of the pure (Buddhist) doctrine,
the Lotus garden of the well-being of their subjects increased
and the mass of dark evil opponents was destroyed.
That this was done at one time is really miraculous!
Although that great religious minister named *sGrol-ma*,
who was furnished with the glory of good deeds,
took great measures for the welfare of himself and others,
alas! he showed the manner of his passing away.
In order to fulfill his intentions completely,
the following completely pure virtues were accomplished on a grand scale.
Firstly starting from his passing away
up to the 40th day,
headed by the holy Lama *Kun-dga'-rgyal-mchan* and
the holy *żabs-druṅ Byams-pa-bsod-nams*
more than 80 monks
performed the *Kun-rig* ritual more than ten thousand times."

Regarding the fact that source 3 was written in the second half of the 16th century shortly after the death of *sGrol-ma*, the son of *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*, we have to conclude beyond any doubt that *Khro-bo-'bum* was the father of *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*. He was the nobleman who settled first with his family in Mustang and served the king of Mustang.

Beyond any doubt *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* was the first member of this family who ruled as a duke over the Muktināth valley and adjacent areas. If we rightly assume that his father came to Mustang at the end of the 15th century, *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* certainly established his rule in southern Mustang in the first half of the 16th century.

There are two basic questions regarding the fortresses of the Muktināth valley which are yet to be answered:

1. Who founded *Rab-rgyal-rce-mo*, the fortress of Dzong?
2. Who erected the castle of Kagbeni?

According to all historical sources available to me, it was *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa*, who "went" or "came" to *Rab-rgyal-rce-mo*, the fortress of Dzong. None of the sources mention directly that he founded it. Therefore it might hold that there was already some kind of fortress in Dzong, when *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* shifted his activities to Southern Mustang. If no new historical sources turn up this question can be only decided by archaeological evidence.

Moreover as far as the castle as Kagbeni is concerned, the research conducted by Dr. B. Schmidt and Dr. Niels Gutschow clearly shows that this castle and subsequently the present-day settlement of Kagbeni was founded only in the beginning of the second half of the 16th century. Therefore it is yet to be decided if *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* himself or his son *sGrol-ma* were the actual founder of that castle of Kagbeni.

As far as the origin of the family of the dukes of the Muktināth valley is concerned, the claim of their descent from a Thakuri caste emigrating from Jumla to Mustang, as reported in the oral literature analysed above (see Part I, chapter 2), is of course a myth that has no historical foundation. Does that mean that the written sources which claim the descent of this lineage from the first ministers of the first Tibetan king or even from the mythical gods are more reliable? Of course not. It would be a basic misunderstanding if we claim written historical sources to be more reliable only because they are written sources. After the fall of the Mongol rule in China and subsequently after the collapse of foreign Mongol and Chinese power in Tibet in the second half of the 13th century we witness a revival of old Tibetan traditions in Tibet that go back to the times of the old powerful Tibetan empire. Subsequently especially local rulers in Western Tibet claimed their descent from the powerful Tibetan kings of the *Yar-kluṅs* dynasty, and noblemen traced their origin back to noble families who were influential at the time of the Tibetan empire. Although ideologically significant and important, in most cases it had no historical foundation.

So where did the dukes of the Muktināth valley come from? When they entered Southern Mustang, they were certainly Tibetan noble men coming from the North and followers of the Tibetan Buddhism. Still, this does not say anything about their ethnic origin. If we follow source Č, members of the family married women from areas called *Mon* and *Rong*. So there was direct intercourse between the people of present day Nepal and Western Tibet. Keeping in mind that the Western Nepalese kingdom of Jumla of the middle ages streched far into what is now Tibetan territory, the ethnic history of the Tibetans of Western Tibet and the origin of their clans remains an open question.

Notes

1 Snellgrove, pp. 150 and 202. I have been able to use a blockprint of this biography, comprising 17 folios, which was made available to me due to the kindness of Dr. C. Cüppers. The title of this biography is: rNal-'byor gyi dbaṅ-phyug rje-bcun bstan-'jin ras-pa'i rnam-thar mjad-pa ñuṅ-ṅu gćig.

2 Jackson 2, p. 220.

3 This is referring to utterances made by *bsTan-'jin-ras-pa* himself.

4 The terms *dpon* or *dpon-po* chracterize the position of a local ruler, who does not have the rank of a king (*rgyal-po*).

5 As can be seen from the source 2 edited below, he is mentioned here as the first minister of the first Tibetan King *gÑa'-khri-bcan-po*. This minister was considered to be most prominent ancient forefather of this family.

6 This is one of the well known Kings of the *Yar-kluṅs* dynasty. After the collapse of the power of this dynasty he emigrated to western Tibet in the early 10th century. Cf. Petech, p. 15.

7 This place is situated to the east of the capital of Mustang. According to WD the distance to the capital should be not more than one mile.

8 Most probably he had sexual intercourse with the queen.

9 This is the now ruined fort of the village Dzong in the Muktināth valley.

10 It is not certain to me, if this refers solely to a conflict between the dukes of the Muktināth valley and the King of Mustang or to a more general dissent between this King and his ministers. It is only certain that the dukes of the Muktināth valley formed a party in this dispute opposing the King.

11 In the dictionaries the meaning of *phyag 'bebs-pa* is given as "to afflict physical punishment". This meaning can not be applied here.

12 Cf. chapter 4.2, note 30.

13 See Jackson, p. 152, note 3. I am grateful to Dr. F.-K. Erhard for handing over a copy of this text to me. Title of the text: gu-ru padma'i rnam-thar las thaṅ-yig ga'u-ma'i dkar-ćhags. The text comprises 13 pages but pp. 5 and 6 are missing.

14 This is one of the first Sūtra-texts that came to Tibet by falling from the sky.

15 This the ruler of Mustang in the third generation after the famous *A-ma-dpal*. According to Jackson, p. 133, he died in 1489.

16 This is one of the great kings of *Guṅ-thaṅ*, who ruled this kingdom during the 14th century.

17 This refers to the assumption that *Khro-bo-skyabs-pa* was already prophesied in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra.

18 An allusion to *Rab-rgyal-rce-mo*, the fortress of Dzong and main seat of the dukes of the Muktināth valley.

CORRIGENDA

to the first part of the above article
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p. 47: col. 2, Translation, para. 4, read: As this must not in the future be levied by any *dPon*, notice...

p.74: col. 2, penultimate para., read: ...with regard to the delivery of wood to Upper...

p. 74: col. 2, last line, read: ...according to the (old) customs, and without treachery, cloth, ...

p.75: col. 1, para. 1 read: ...wood for arrows, wood for saddles etc. of good quality.

Role of the Bhaladmis in the Management of Local Affairs in Southern Mustang in the 19th and 20th Centuries

- *M.L. Karmacharya*

1. Introduction

Bhaladmi, in a general sense, is a gentle person or a reputable man of good character. The term is sometimes used with a prefix, *bhadra*, as *bhadra-bhaladmi*, or with *pancha*, as *pancha-bhaladmi*, or with *panchayat*, as *panchayat-bhaladmi*. The *bhadra-bhaladmi* is used simply to denote a gentry-folk or a person of good moral character with special emphasis on the trait of being good and simple and full of integrity, the term *bhadra* itself, in a familiar sense, meaning no other than good, sound, virtuous etc. The term *pancha-bhaladmi*, on the other hand, is used to denote an arbitrator or a member of a body of arbitrators, while the *panchayat-bhaladmi* is done so to denote a mediator or a persuader working in a group or assembly to bring about a compromise or settlement of differences between two or more parties. The term *bhaladmi* is often found to have been used in the documents - government or otherwise - generally to denote a locally or nationally recognised person expected to formally and frankly express his ideas or opinion in a matter of social or public importance so as to influence the decision or make an impact. In such a case the person, often called simply a *bhaladmi*, can be defined, in the absence of any particular attribute to specify it, as the one well-established and celebrated in the eyes of the general public, as a person of honour, dignity, reputation and firm standing in the society or community he lives in, and hence considered capable to contribute to the settlement of local or other problems or matters of significance. Usually, practice is, therefore, there to define a *bhaladmi* simply as a local prominent person.

2. Scope and Purpose

An attempt is made here in this short article to discuss the role of this very *bhaladmi* in the management of local affairs in Southern Mustang in the 19th and 20th centuries, based on some documents discovered recently in Marpha, Thini, Dzong, Jharkot and Ghasa now deposited in photo

prints at the Nepal German Project on High Mountain Archaeology, Kathmandu. These documents mention, in one or other way, the village communities having sought the participation or guidance of the *bhaladmis* in the management of local affairs, although, of course, they have nothing to say about the criteria or condition for a *bhaladmi* to be qualified or established as capable to play this role. No attempt will, therefore, be made here to dwell upon the subject excepting to note that a *bhaladmi*, to act as such, required to be picked up either by `election' or (more appropriately) by selection, and that, for a specified period of time or a specified occasion as the case might be. According to one document, a person selected for the purpose was expected to be a well-fitted and honest person[1], and the selection was required to be valid only for a special meeting he was called for[2], while according to another document, a person deputed to act in such a capacity of a *bhaladmi* was either the one specifically named by a unit or agency seeking his participation or cooperation,[3] or the one selected by casting a lot by a unit or agency deputing him.[4] When an option is left to the deputing unit or agency to depute any one of its choice, any village functionary like a village worker, *gundul*, could also be deputed for the purpose.[5] It will be interesting, in this context, to note that long before 1926, when the central Government at Kathmandu enforced an order to establish a judicial panchayat in Dang Deukhuri in Western Nepal, the local *bhaladmis* were authorized to look into the minor cases of local disputes and bring about their amicable settlement on their own discretion.[6] That the *bhaladmis* were thus held in high esteem or attached importance even as a well established institution, if we may say so, also on the higher government level, is evident from their mention made in the government public notices of special importance in those days[7] in contrast with its missing in the subsequent days after the political change in 1951.[8] These are enough to show that in the Nepalese social or political life the *bhaladmis* were some privileged sort of persons who until some time back had special role to play both in the locally and nationally managed affairs in the country. Why and for what purpose these *bhaladmis*, in spite of their being the members of the same community assembling to deliberate on the specific subjects, were accorded such a special status to play such a special role vis-a-vis the village elders, who in those days of feudalistic society, had dominant role to play, and to be dominated by whose sweet will the village itself was happy to vest in them the powers to exercise for implementing the decisions it itself had made, is indeed an interesting subject for study, and for which no answer is there with the afore-mentioned documents to offer. Further because we are thus limited in our scope and purpose, we would now concentrate ourselves in the study of the role the *bhaladmis* played some time back in the management of local affairs as evident from the documents noted above.

3. Documents in General

The above noted documents we are now basing our discussions are bonds or regulations drawn up with mutual consultation and consent by the communities on various occasions or circumstances in Jomsom, Thini, Marpha, Ghasa, Thak Satsae, Jharkot, Khimka, Purang, Dzong and Chhenkur - all in the southern region of the modern Mustang district in Western Nepal. As the exercise of the local people towards doing away with the local problems, these documents reflect the will of the concerned rural communities to put up their collective or joint efforts on their own to ward off the impending danger threatening their social, economic and cultural life more by way of apathy from the community members themselves rather than by any other outward force or Nature. The period covered by these documents extends about ten decades from as far back as 1868 to 1964, trailing all along about one decade after the establishment of democratic form of Government in the country that was committed naturally to introduce local self-government in the urban as

well as rural areas.

Of the eight documents we are now going to take up for discussion, the Ghasa document is the one. Dated back from 1868 to 1954, this document makes up a set of rules seeking to regularise the traditional customs and manners including the duties of the community members towards maintaining and upkeeping the high lying and low lying grounds, pasturage, natives and aliens - all for the good of the community as a whole. Besides, the document shows how the community assembled time and often to review the progress and problems in the village and made with mutual consultation necessary amendments and enforced new regulations aimed at the well being of the community life.

The Marpha documents, one of 1933 and the other of 1960 through 1964, both are, similarly, the sets of customary rules and regulations made by the residents of the village of Marpha with mutual consultation among themselves. They deal on the management of local affairs in relation to the customs and manners and serve as guidelines for the village elders, *thalus* and their assistants, *chopas*, holding office for one year for giving full attention to the emergent government duties keeping the people all happy, and getting the works related to the religious worship and other obligations done regularly.

The Thini documents, on the other hand, are the agreements done in 1938 and 1951 between the two villages of Thini and Jomsom in relation to the traditional arrangements for sharing water for irrigation purposes, maintenance of the canal, and use of forest products and other miscellaneous matters of mutual interest. The one done in 1938 was so done in view of the frequent discords, disputes and differences resulting into exchange of words time and often specially over the use of the forests, bushes and pasture-lands together with the water channel owned and enjoyed by Thini. The agreement established rules and regulations for both the parties to act accordingly. This 1938 document, in fact, was a review of the old customary regulation which was done in the Tibetan script. It was now done in the Nepalese script for everybody to be able to understand with necessary new clauses incorporated in it. So is the 1951 document which was done in review of the 1938 document in accordance with the clause providing for review in case of need.

The Jharkot document, on its part, is a reconciliation deed done by the villages of Jharkot and Khimka in 1953 as a settlement of dispute over the use for grazing purposes, of the neighbouring higher slopes, unenclosed waste land and cultivated lands left fallow after harvest. The settlement is seen to have been brought about with the support of the traditions according to which the three villages of Purang, Jharkot and Khimka used them as a common ground for grazing their cattle after the crops were reaped.

The Jhong document, similarly, is a reconciliation deed done by the representatives of the Jhong and the Chhenkur villages. It was done in 1952 over the use and enjoyment of a certain Tawa forest spreading border to border between the said two villages, for the purpose of grazing the cattle belonging to the people of the three villages including Purang. It also settled the long standing dispute over the use of the route through Chhenkur to Muktinath Ghara Gumba. This document thus appears to have sealed the disputes between the two villages existing since long before 1937 when a similar deed appears to have been done but to be left ignored some years afterwards.

The Thak Satsae document, on its part, is an organisaton rule framed, obviously, after the local government pattern for the management of the common affairs of the thirteen different villages in the Thak Khola region including Ghasa village. Under these rules a body called Thak Satsae Dharma Panchayat was formed. The body, in the absence of any evidence in the contrary, seems to

have been formed voluntarily with the efforts of the participating 13 Mukhiyas, presumably before 1947 and some time after 1933 with a view to run the social system in the region according to the traditions, settle local disputes by themselves, awaken general national consciousness, promote culture, maintain communal harmony, spread education, improve health conditions and prevent epidemics, encourage art, craft and industry, and eradicate evil customs and manners. When viewed against the afore-mentioned Ghasa document, it can safely be said that it was so designed as to act as a sort of an upper body that, apart from bringing about co-ordination among the thirteen villages functioning independently as self-governing units so far as their local issues were concerned, worked in its own way in the larger interest of common concern. The document shows it was active until 1957, when a rule was passed banning the initiation of the Thakali girls under 21 years as nuns and depriving the nuns of their right to the parental property.

4. Problems in Particular

The problems the communities generally confronted related, to be more specific and to make a brief note of, to the danger of deforestation, undergrowth of pasturage, uneven distribution of irrigation facilities, overburdening of social customs in the context of the changes of time, undermining of cultural values, maintenance of roads and bridges, management of religious and cultural services, and inner human nature of being apathetic to the collective responsibility of managing local affairs.

To state in more detail and to refer to the particular cases, the problems the Ghasa village community identified as regards their life and society, required protection of standing crops from domesticated animals, arrangements for grazing cattle in and out of the season, arrangement for collection of pine leaves and needles for manure, protection of forests, control on cutting trees, grasses, canes, bamboos etc. for domestic and other purposes, clearing of roads in appropriate seasons, regulating operation of grog-shops, control on sale of alcoholic drinks, providing incentives to the hunters killing wild beasts, arrangements for collecting animal dungs etc. for manure, collection of funds and providing expenses for religious services, provision of facilities and allotment of duties to the village functionaries, control of market and wages, management of labour, maintenance of customs and manners etc.

Similarly, the problems the Marpha document of 1933 related to the need for arrangement of irrigation facilities, arrangement of fixing auspicious dates for sowing seeds and reaping crops, keeping the fields barren, grazing cattle and collection of dues on them, collection of animal dungs and pine leaves and needles for manure, regularising cutting of trees and grasses and removing weeds, keeping the rest houses, office buildings and public thorough-fares sanitarily clean and healthy, regular observance of religious services and traditional festivals on fixed dates, planting every year willow and fig trees, maintaining intact the census of the people and the households, enforcing marriage rules and controlling adultery even among the monks and nuns in the *gumbas*, disposing of dead bodies in the community-forest and throwing them down the slope-hills, charging fees on the performance of the last rites on the death of a migratory worker from abroad, control on playing of drums and singing of songs in the particular part of the year, operating water-mill all the time, prohibiting gambling, protection of crops from animals, fixation of yaks' price, discouraging people to approach the law court in case of quarrels and disputes, holding the annual arrow shooting programme, care of official documents, review of the village rules every three years etc.

The problems identified by the triennial meetings held accordingly related to the planting of barley

and corns in certain specified area, opening of farm-lands for grazing for a certain period after the crops are harvested, protection of the willow trees planted every year, cultivation of barren land, arrangement of irrigation facilities, protection of crops, ploughed lands and the barley seeds sown, reaping of naked barley crops, cutting fruit and other trees, setting up of the wooden bridge, blocking of the way through accumulation of water in the fields, providing grass to feed the ploughing animals, extending expenses to offer religious services, cultivation of lands belonging to the people living outside the territory, collection of animal dungs and pine-needles for manure, offering presents on the occasion of marriage, ill-treatments to the persons seeking to take back-home their estranged wives, settling local disputes with local efforts, the system of crying on the death or disappearance of a person, keeping the important places and official buildings clean, sharing of food with the returnees from travel abroad, bowing down to the feet for respect, the tradition of visiting the mourners with presents, the harassment caused by the begging, *damai* class of tailors, sale of yaks and wild beasts, meat, supply of meat to the *thalus* on the occasion of the Dasain festival, provision of extending *dhikuri* loan, killing of yaks belonging to the outsiders, grazing in the *bukyan* pastures inside the territory, sale of a water-mill by the Katuval, the Khampas staying inside the territory, setting up of shops and hotels, wages to be provided to the loom operators, sale of lands and houses, and feasting on the occasion of minor festivals.

Of the two Thini documents, the one of 1938 identified the problems related to the supply of water to the farm-lands, repair of the water course and the wooden bridge, the right to the grazing and practising religious worship, collection of pine-needles and leaves, provision of trees for household purposes, protection of standing crops, cremation of dead bodies on special days or in a special period, tilling of lands, cutting of wood, playing of instruments and firing of muskets, control on sale and prices of milk, curd etc., and fixing of conditions on setting up an inn. The other document done in 1957, apart from reviewing the provisions made in connection with cleaning and repairing the water-course, supply of water to the fields, acquiring ropes for spanning across the water-course, failure to take water in to the concerned fields on announced dates, cremation of dead bodies, and damage of crops caused by domestic animals, enforced new rules restricting cutting green guava trees and carrying out guavas from the garden, grazing of animals at night on the lands not yet open for the same, rooting out grass grown in others' lands, and collection of pine-needles for manure.

Similarly, the problems identified in the Jhong document of 1952 related to the ownership of the Tawa forest as was claimed both by Jhong and Chhenkur villages resulting also into the dispute over its use entailing grazing of animals and collection of herbs, grass and animal dungs. The priestly services traditionally provided by Chhenkur to Jhong, use of the Chhenkur route to Muktinath Ghara Gumba as well as the tradition of grazing the cattle belonging to Putak village were also in dispute.

The problems identified in the Jharkot document of 1953 related to the cultivation of the plots of land the villages of Jharkot and Khimba had so long been cultivating in peaceful terms, grazing their cattle as well as the cattle of Purang village without any dispute, keeping the water flow from Khimka to Jharkot unhindered to let the water-mill there working all the time, the unrestricted movement of the authorised persons to check the flow of the canal, and collection of animal dungs and other waste materials.

The Thak Satsae document, on its part, identified the necessity of maintaining vital statistics and census, preventing infectious diseases, settling local disputes locally, collecting birth, death and marriage taxes, enforcing new marriage and

funeral rules, making new arrangements for disposal of dead bodies and playing of musical instruments on the occasion, registration of households against the number of *kuriyas*, banning gambling of all sorts, regularising sale of lands and transfer of land-ownership, controlling holding of lottery, collecting dues from the sheepherd owners, registration of deeds of gift or legacy, putting into use the new volumetric units of measurements, revising the rule permitting the water-buffaloes to be kept in the region, providing expenses for religious services, bringing about reforms in the traditional customs relating to the festivals and the like occasions, formalising the *dhikuri* system of providing funds to those who needed, seeing the priestly duties performed without any hitch or hindrance, maintaining the wooden bridge in good condition, applying control on cutting of trees and bamboos, maintaining moral and sexual discipline among the people including the monks and the nuns in the *gumbas*, restricting the wearing of valuable ornaments like *khanlo* and amulets, controlling providing fees and making religious gifts to the religious specialists, and making arrangements for security of goods and property of the *gumbas*.

5. Role of the Bhaladmis

In course of solving the afore-mentioned problems the concerned village or villages seem to have sought the assistance and mediation of the *bhaladmis* in their own considered way, which does not, however, mean to say that their services were considered always necessary and that also in bringing about solutions of all these problems without any exception. Varied as were the cases of the management of local affairs, so was the role of the *bhaladmis* played on different occasions in different cases. The local problems being what they were, it can be presumed, the *bhaladmis* were requested, or asked in most cases, to play their role as considered necessary by the party or parties concerned. We have now to see how and in what way the *bhaladmis* were expected to play and they played the role.

As seen in the Ghasa document, the *bhaladmis* were required to attend the panchayat court in connection with the suits filed in Thak Satsae (Dharma Panchayat) under the notice issued. They had to play this role without any hesitation and were paid per diem expenses for the same.[9]

The Thak Satsae document had some specific duties and functions for the *bhaladmis* to fulfill. They had to take part in the panchayat court meetings and give out their opinions, form a sub-committee as necessary with themselves and some member Mukhiyas as members to decide upon difficult and complicated cases placed before the Panchayat, and take action against any office-bearing Mukhiya if a group of at least seven other Mukhiyas lodged a complaint.[10] They had to take part in any discussion related to the matters of great significance or of serious nature.[11] They were required to endorse in writing the decisions of the meetings,[12] and attend a Panchayat meeting convened to discuss a no-confidence proposal against a member.[13] Besides, they had to act with the *talukdar* whenever any girl in the village was suspected to have become pregnant in the absence of her husband in which case they could even expel her from her water sharing caste until she could produce the boy who had caused her to concieve.[14]

The Thini document of 1938 is a proof of the *bhaladmis* having joined the *talukdar* and other residents of the village of Jomsom in bringing about a reconciliation with the village of Thini on the question of sharing water for irrigation as well as other matters of common concern.[15] Again in 1951 the *bhaladmis* were instrumental in bringing about a fresh reconciliation deed by reviewing the former one and incorporating in it some other provisions for mutual interest.[16] This document they handed over to the Mukhiya and the *bhaladmis* of Thini after it was duly endorsed.[17]

The *bhaladmis* in Marpha, according to the document of 1933, would sit together with the *thalus* and determine the quantity of the crops to be compensated to the land-owners whenever any damage was done by domesticated animals.[18] One other document done in 1957 required the *bhaladmis* to look on request, into the family squabbles and settle the case,[19] and also determine an area out of which the canal flowing along had to be drained out.[20]

In case of a dispute between Jhong and Chhenkur the *bhaladmis* who were called *pancha bhaladmi*[21] similarly as the *bhaladmis* in Ghasa invited to settle a dispute between a grain dealer and a land-owner,[22] mediated on the question of use and enjoyment of a certain Tawa forest spreading border to border of the said two villages.[23]

In relation to another dispute between Jharkot and Khimka, in which case according to a document of 1953, the *bhaladmis* were called *panchayat bhaladmis*, they were successful in persuading the two villages to come to terms on the question of cultivating a disputed plot of land grazing their cattle on it.[24]

6. Conclusion

To sum up, the documents discussed above were thus witness to the fact that the role of the *bhaladmis*, all along the 19th and 20th centuries, in the context of the management of local affairs in Southern Mustang had been the role of arbitrators, mediators or persuaders assisting in maintaining local community discipline for peace and prosperity in the respective territories. As the locally established prominent persons well-recognised for their sincerity, integrity and intellectually enlightened attitude, enjoying, therefore, high esteem (as much as to be accorded special treatment on special occasions[25]) not only in the local community level but also in the higher governmental level, they exerted somewhat significant influence in the decision making process, and hence, deserve careful and extensive study in the historical, political and social perspective against the prevailing low rate of literacy with the hero-worshipping like mass psychology of the age.

NOTES

1. Thak Satsae document (Dharma Panchayat Rules) :

Text (lines : 281 - 283)

281. 19. thāka 7 saya 13 mukhiyā sammelanamā bhalādamī haru lāī bolāudā tala lekhieko

282. saṃkhyā mā viṣaya herī thapaghaṭa garna sakinecha bhalādamī haru gāubaṭa

283. cunāva praṇālī bāṭa paṭhāunu parne hunāle niṣpakṣa rupabāṭa yogya ra imāndā ra mānisa lāī cunnu parcha.

Translation

281 - 283. 19. When calling the *bhaladmis* to the meeting of 13 Mukhiyas of Thak Satsae, the number noted below may be increased or decreased according to the agenda. Since the *bhaladmis* are to be sent by the village concerned through the election system, able and sincere person(s) shall be sent in an impartial manner.

[2]. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 306 - 307)

306. 22. gāubāṭa cunī āeko bhalādamī haru kā mānyatā kevala euṭai sammelanako

307. lāgī mātra rahanecha.

Translation

306 - 307. 22. The term of office (lit. validity) of the *bhaladmis* elected by the village shall be only for one meeting.

[3]. Ghasa document (Regulations) :

Text (lines : 389 - 391)

389. ... ... thāka sātasayemā pareko

390. muddā māmīlā mā jo jasko nāumā purjī lekhī

391. āucha soī mānīsa bhalādami bhai jāne

Translation

389 - 391. ... ... in connection with the legal suits filed in Thak Satsae, whosoever is served a written order (specifically mentioning his name) shall go as a *bhaladmi*

[4]. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 307 - 315)

307. ... ... abaūprānta jaṃgī kāmmā ra thāka sātasaimā

308. paṃca kacaharī garna jānemā ra thāka sātasaibāṭa hāmrā gāūma leṣāī deṣāī garī pa

309. ṭhāyekā bhalādmī harukā nāūmā purjī sīpāī sameṭa ṣatī āyemā hāmrā gāūkā

310. tasalla bāṭa gāū basī golhā hālī juṃjuṃkā nāūmā golā pracha svaisvai

311. mānīsa sāmelamā ra jaṃgī kāmmā sameta jānu parlā golāmā parekā

312. le ma jāmna bhaṃna pāūne chaina yesamā thāka sātasayebāṭa ṣara ṣicolā jhīgī jo ṣa ṭāī

313. leṣī paṭhāyeko cha sva mānīsa āūnuparnemā tīmī kena āyau bhanī leṣāī garekā mā

314. nīsalāī sajāye sajāye garemā sva lāgekā sajāye gāūbāṭa bujāūlā golāmā parako

315. mānīsa nagayemā leṣīyekā sajāye āphaibāṭa tīnu parlā --- 72

Translation

307 - 315. ... ..., from now on, on the question (of persons) to go on military assignment or to attend a panchayat court of justice in Thaka Satsae and also in case a written order or a messenger is sent and arrives on deputation addressed to the *bhaladmi* in our village, introduced in person or writing (as such), our village shall, after consultation, caste a a lot, and the persons to whom it falls, shall go to join military duty or the (panchayat) meeting (according as the lot decides), and the person to whom the lot falls, shall not say, "I won't go." If in this case Thak Satsae, picking up the question, inflicts punishment upon the person deputed with writing, saying, "The person to whom the order was sent ought to have come, and (instead) why did you turn up?", the punishment so inflicted shall be borne by the village. In case the person to whom the lot falls, declines to go, he himself shall have to undergo the punishment as written.

5. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 395 - 397)

395. ... ... nāu natogī sāmelamā ā

396. unu bhaṃne mātra lekhī āyemā pālole pareko

397. ghundula jāne

Translation

395 - 397. ... ... in case a writing is received only with a call to attend the meeting without specifying the name, the *gundul* by virtue of his turn shall go

6. Gau Panchayat Ain, 2006 (Village Panchayat Act, 1949). HMG, Kathmandu :

Text (lines : 1 - 6)

1. jāgīrdāra birtāvārale jhagaḍā herdā ko 2 nambarako ainale 5 nam lekhieko

2. muddā bāheka aru muddā vādī prativādī nalie daṇḍa kuṇḍa nagarī gāu gharakā bhalā

3. damī rākhī basī mile milāī dine hunemā pani bhalādamī kāhā nagaī milne milāī dine

4. nagarī sānātinā mile hune kurāko jhagaḍā sameta adālatasamma nagaī nālesa diī

5. insāpha garāune bhayebāṭa ilama rojagāra ruju bhai garna na pāī daṇḍa sajāya hairānī

6. bhognuparne bhai raiti duniyālāī pira parne bhairaheko sameta behorā jāhera bhayekobāṭa

Translation

1 - 6. Whereas it has been represented that even in case other than those mentioned in Section 5 of the Law of Judicial Authority of Jagirdars and Birta owners in which compromise can be effected by the *prominent persons* of the village without formal complaints and responses being filed or penalties being awarded, (the litigants) do not approach such *prominent persons*, and instead, take recourse to the court even in minor matters which could be settled amicably, so that they cannot attend to their occupations and are liable to undergo penalties, and are thus harassed,

(Translation : Regmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 9. Kathmandu : September 1, 1970)

7. Public Notice on Abolition of Slavery. Chandra Samser, Prime Minister and Marshal, Commander-in-Chief, Kathmandu : 1925 :

Text (lines : 1 - 5)

1. āge nepāla madhesa pahāḍa gorakhā rā jabhara mulukakā

2. jimidāra tālukadāra jimmāvāla tharī mukhiyā mi-

3. jhāra gauruṅ birtāvāla jāgiradā ra sāhū mahājana sa-

4. nta mahanta bhalādmi kariyākā dhanī ra kariyā haru same-

5. ta raiti duniyā̃ gairhake

Translation

1 - 5. To the landlords, landholders, revenue agents, village heads, head-men, revenue collectors, local agents, freehold land owners, service-men, traders, merchants,

hermits, monks, *bhaladmis*, slave owners, and slaves, tenants and subjects of the whole State of Gorkha comprising of Nepal, Tarai and Hills, (The Kathmandu Valley was then called Nepal).

8. Royal Proclamation on February 18, 1951. His Majesty King Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah Deva. In Shri 5 Tribhuvan Smriti Grantha, Kathmandu : 1960. p. 651 :

Text (lines : 1 - 2)

1. āge hāmro mulukakā bhāi-bhāradāra, santa-mahanta, raiti-duniyā, sāhū-
2. mahājana gairhake yathocit,

Translation

1 - 2 To the high ranking Government officers, hermits and monks, tenants and subjects, traders and merchants and everybody in our country, Greetings,

9. Ghasa document (Regulatioons) :

Text (lines : 201 - 203)

201. ... jaṃgi kāṃmā jāne ra gāū gāūmā bhalādemī bhai paṃca kacarī garna
202. jāne bhalādmī 1 javānadeṣī jatī javāna gaye panī dīna 1 ko jīyā 1 ko pai ru
203. 75/-kā darle ṣarca dīnu ...

Translation

201 - 203. ... one who goes abroad on military assignment or to attend panchayat meetings in one or other village as a *bhaladmi* shall be paid at the rate of 75 paisa per day per head no matter whatsoever be the number of the persons so going ...

10. Thak Satsae document (Dharma Panchayat Rules) :

Text (lines : 171 - 179)

171. 6. bhalādamīharuko kartavya ra adhikāra :-
172. ka. bhalādamīharu gāubāṭa cunī āune hudā kacaharī
173. baiṭhakamā sāgai basī chalaphala garne hudā āphnu bicāra dine adhikāra

174. rahanecha.

175. kha. mukhiyā haruko āpasamā amela bhai 7 janā mukhiyā haruko ekai rāyabāṭa

176. padādhikārī mukhiyā haru māthī sikāyata garemā kārabāī garna sakincha.

177. ga. māthī dhārā nam ī ko daphā nam 16 mā lekhie bamojima alaga kameṭi

178. banāī nirṇaya garne bhanī lekhiekocha tāpani sva kameṭi banāune adhikāra

179. bhalādamī haruko rahane cha.

Translation

171. 6. Rights and Duties of the *Bhaladmis* :-

172 - 174. a. The *bhaladmis* are entitled to give out their opinions as they have come through elections from their village, and take part in mutual discussions in court meetings.

175 - 176. b. In case of discord among the Mukhiyas, if 7 Mukhiyas with one mind lodge a complaint against office-bearing Mukhiyas, action can be taken.

177 - 179. c. Although it is written above that a decision is to be made by forming a committee as written in the sub-clause 16 No. D, the right to form the said committee shall be vested in the *bhaladmis*.

11. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 95 - 97)

95. 12. bandeja ra niyama bamojima kāma garne ra lāgu garne kartavya 13 mukhiyā ko ho tā

96. pani ṭhulo yā gambhīra viṣayamā bhalādmī haru dhārā naṃ ū mā lekhie

97. bamojima thapaghaṭa garī bolāuna sakincha.

Translation

95 - 97. 12. Although it is the duty of the 13 Mukhiyas to carry out the work according to the rules and regulations and to implement them, the *bhaladmis* may be invited in greater or smaller number as per the clause No. 19 in connection with a matter of great significance or of serious nature.

12. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 102 - 105)

102. 14. kunai pani kāma kuro likhita bāṭa hunu pardacha meṭiga mā pāsa bhaeko nayā bandheja

103. haru 1/1 prati mukhiyā haru jimmā bhaekā nakala bahīmā lekhāi dī sakala

104. bandhejamā dartā garī jammā bhaekā 13 mukhiyā ra bhalādmīharuko paṭakai picche

105. sahī chāpa garnu parnecha.

Translation

102 - 105. 14. Everything should be done in writing. Each and every regulations passed at the meeting should, after having been copied in the copy-book in charge of the Mukhiyas and registered in the original one, be endorsed every time under the signature of the 13 Mukhiyas and the *bhaladmis*.

13. Ibid. :

Text (lines : 160 - 163)

160. ga. lekhieko padādhikārī haru le pakṣapāti ra niyama barkhilāpa garī mana mānī

161. tarikāle kāma garemā kamase kama 7 janā mukhiyā haruko euṭai bicāra bāṭa

162. cuniāekā bhalādmī haru kā sāmunnemā avis'vāsa ko kurā rākhī kārabāī

163. garna sakincha.

Translation

160 - 163. c. In case the afore-mentioned office-bearers act arbitrarily in contravention of the rules and in a partisan manner, (a group of) 7 Mukhiyas minimum may, with one mind, take action by proposing a vote of no-confidence in the presence of the *bhaladmis* who have come by election.

14. Ibid.

Text (lines : 738 - 744)

738. 4. ... ... āphnā āphnā gāũ moujāmā

739. aba uprānta logne nabhaeko strī jātiharu ko garbha raheko saṃkā dekhie

740. kā gāũ ko dārale bhalādmi haru nija āīmāī lāī pakrī garbha raheko

741. ho hoina khāra khera garī garbha raheko sābita bhaemā logne pattā lagāī
742. dekhāeko logne lāī timro garbha ho hoina svadhī ho bhanemā aina bamo
743. jima kāma garī rakhne ra hoina bhanemā logne pattā na lāge samma āja
744. dekhi pānī haṭaka garī rākhnu parcha.

Translation

738 - 744. 4. ... ... from now on, in case any girl in any village or district is suspected of having been pregnant in the absence of her husband, the *talukdar* and the *bhaladmis* of the village shall hold and interrogate the girl whether she is truly pregnant and in case she admits and attests the boy finding him out, the boy (so attested) shall be questioned whether the conception was caused by him or not, and in case the boy admits, action shall be taken according to the law, and in case he denies, the girl shall forthright be put out of her right to share (drinking) water for the period till the concerned boy is not found out.

15. Thini document (Agreement) of 1938 :

Text (lines 1 and 11 - 17)

1. ... 5 gāũ madhye jhumsammā gāũkā hāmī tapasīl bamojiṃ ko tālukdāra bhalādmī raiti gaira āgye tīmī ṭhīnī gāũ gaira

11. ... apa ūprānta deṣī 2 gāũko sanātanlāī tapsīlmā leṣīyeko daphā daphā ko thīṭī baṃdej ba

12. mojīṃ mā rahī 2 gā ũmā jasle jāljhel baṣeḍā garī leṣiyekai rīti thīṭī nāgī kāmkā j garcha so mānīs

13. lāī tapsīlko daphā daphā mā leṣiyekai nīt asul ūpara garī līnu bujhāũlā bhanī tapsīl bamojīṃ ko hāmī jhuṃ

14. sammā gāũko tālukdāra bhalādmī raiti gairako cītta bujhī hāmrā manomāna ṣusīrā jīle tapsīlmā leṣiyeko ā

15. phnā āphnā nāũmā s-hīchā pa garī thītirītī baṃdejko kā gaj leṣī ṭhīnī gāũ jīmmā dī tarpha yo thīṭī baṃdejbamo

16. jīṃko kāgaj 1 prati nakal sārī ṭhīnī gāũko tālukdā ra muṣīyā ṭhālu chopā bhalādmī raiti

gairako s-hīchāpa ga

17. rī hāmī jhumsaṃmā gāũ jīṃmā bujhī lī tarpha sāchī pharke paṭṭī mā leṣīyeko sadara

Translation

1. We, the *talukdars*, *bhaladmis* and subjects as listed below of the village of Jomsom of the Panchagaun group of villages do hereby write that ...

11 - 17. from now on, as for the traditions of the two villages, the customary regulations having been fixed as recorded in the clauses noted below, any person of the two villages, who by fabricating things and causing troubles, acts in violation of the rules written down, shall pay or be caused to pay a fine prescribed in the clauses below. So saying, we, as follows, the *talukdars*, *bhaladmis* as well as the subjects of the village of Jomsom, having been satisfied and of our own will and accord, have, putting our signature against our respective names, done the deed of customary regulations and as for the responsibility to hand it over to the village of Thini, one duplicate copy has been made of the (said) customary regulations document and having got it endorsed by the *talukdar*, Mukhiya, *thalu*, *chopa*, *bhaladmis* as well as the subjects formally received by us, the village of Jomsom, and as for the witnesses hereof (those) noted on the margin are confirmed all right.

16. Thini document (Agreement) of 1951 :

Text (lines : 1 - 7)

1. lesitaṃ thāka adālata ilākā jīllā 5 gāũ madhye jhuṃsambā gāũ basne hāmī tapa
2. sīlbamojīṃ ko mānīsaharu āge 1995 sāl jyeṣta 17 gate roja 2 kā baṃdej
3. kāyeṃ rāsī tesmā kehī kurā ratalbadal garnu parne deṣīyekā le tapasīlkā daphā
4. daphā mā lesīyeko kurā hāmī ṭhīnī jhuṃsambā ko tapsīlkā bhalādmī
5. haru ko sallā bāṭa bāṃdeja banā ũna manjura bhai doharā kāgaj ṭhīnīkā muṣīyā
6. bhalādmīharubāṭa hāmi jhuṃsambālā ī dīne ra hāmī jhuṃsambākā bhalādmīharubāṭa ṭhīnī gāũmā s-hi

7. chāpa garī diñuṃ

Translation

1 - 7. We, the residents, as follows, of one of the 5 villages under the jurisdiction of the Thak Court of Law, Jomsom, do hereby write that whereas some changes have to be made in the Regulations made on Monday, the 17th of Jyestha, 1995 (1938 A.D.), and whereas we, the following *bhaladmis* of Jomsom, consulting among ourselves, have agreed to do the same (lit. make the regulations), we, the *bhaladmis* of Jomsom, do hereby put our signature on the copy of the agreement forwarded to us by the Mukhiyas and *bhaladmis* of Jomsom.

17. Ibid :

Text (lines : 14 - 16)

14. ... ... sohī baṃdejbamo

15. jīṃ garnu bhanī hāmīharuko nāma nāmasimā s-hichā pa garī tapāī ṭhīnīkā mu : saṃga

16. prasād smetkā bhalādamīharulāi diñuṃ

Translation

14 - 16. ... ... asking to act according to the said bond, we do hereby hand over (this deed), with our respective signatures put against our respective names to Mukhiya Sanga Prasad and other *bhaladmis*.

18. Marpha document (Regulations) of 1933 :

Text (lines : 149 - 153)

149. bāli janavārale ṣāī aramala garī pāu bhanī bhaṃṇa āye thorā thorā ṣāye

150. ko bhaye aramala bharāī dīnu pardaina dherai ṣāyeko bhaye ṣetdhanīle /4 paisā

151. rāṣana āye bālī ūpajanī māseko aṃjāma garāī ṭhālu bhalādmī basī

152. 3 golā banāī parames'vara pukārī 1 golā jhīkī golā bāṭa āyeko a

153. rmala jhiki balīko dhanīlāī bharāī dīnu 15

Translation

149 - 153. In case a submission is made for compensation for the damage of crops done by any animal by eating, no action shall be taken for making the amends, if (the quantity) so eaten is negligible. In case a considerable quantity has been eaten up, and the owner of the field turns up to deposit 4 paisa, the *thalus* and the *bhaladmis* sitting together shall, after an estimation is made of the (total) damage caused of the crop-produce, devise three balls (with desired indications), pick up any one of them praying God for help, and then drawing (the equal quantity of) compensation as indicated by the ball so picked up, get the amends made to the owner of the field.

19. Marpha document (Regulations) of 1957 :

Text (lines : 54 - 56)

54. 11. kohī vyaktigat gharamā kala jhagaḍā bhaī māīta arthāt

55. sahyaṃ gaī hālcha. tesmā 2/4 janā bhalādmīlāī mī

56. lāpatra garī deu bhaṃdā ...

Translation

54 - 56. 11. in case (any girl), because of a quarrel in a private family, leaves (her home) to stay in her mother's place, and in case a couple of *bhaladmis* are requested to bring about a compromise, ...

20. Ibid :

Text (lines : 34 - 37)

34. 7. kāgani maṃdir muniko ṣeta tarphako nhaṃghyora 4 janā

35. bhalādmīle ṭhaharāye saṃmako yeti yarīyā bhītrako

36. nhaṃghyora arthāt bhītrī kulo jasle nīkāldaina teslā

37. īru 4 kā darabāṭa nit līnu.

Translation

34 - 37. 7. As regards the Nhamghyor, that is, the inner canal, on the side of the farm-land

below the Kagani temple, whoever does not drain out the part of as much area as determined by the 4 *bhaladmis*, shall be fined at the rate of Rs. 4/-.

21. Jhong document (Agreement) of 1952 :

Text (lines : 6 - 8)

6. ... ... gharāyasamā jhagaḍā parī

7. amela bhai raheko mā hāmī ī 12 gau kā thiti bamojiṃ tapāī tapasīlmā lekhieko paṃca bhalādamīharu

8. bāṭa

Translation

6 - 8. As dissension has prevailed owing to the dispute in the village you, the following *pancha bhaladmis*, are to ... in accordance with the tradition of these 12 villages (Barhagau) ...

22. Ghasa document (Regulations) :

Text (lines : 549 - 550)

549. paṃca bhalādmī rākhe aṃna bāli aru sametmā aramal garna gai go

550. lā ṭipne mānisle moharu 1 tirnu parlā ṭhekadāralāī nadinu gāūlāī dinu

Translation

549 - 550. A grain dealer who holds a place for trading on grains by disturbing the grain-crops and others, shall have to pay Mohar Re 1/- in the presence of the *pancha bhaladmi*. Do not give the amount to the contracting agent, give it to the village.

23. Jhong document (Agreement) of 1952 :

Text : (lines : 54 - 58)

54. ... ... aghiko kāgaja pramāṇaharu ra

55. so milāpatra bamojiṃmā milnu bhani tapāī 12 gāukā gāu gāubāṭa cuniekā bhalādmī haru

56. le samjhāunuhũdā hāmīharuko cīta bujhyo yo milāpatra bamojiṃmā milna hāmīharuko khusī rājī

57. bhayeko hũdā abaprānta milāpatramā lekhiyakai behorā kāyema rākhī ghaḍibaḍī napārī hāmī 2 tharī

58. basnechu ...

Translation

54 - 58. ... ... As you, the *bhaladmis* nominated (lit. elected) by the (component) villages of Barhagaun suggested us to come to a reconciliation acting in accordance with the provisions of the previous deeds and documents as well as the reconciliation deed done in the past, we are now satisfied. We, being willing now to come to a compromise in accordance with the deed of reconciliation, we shall from now on keep to the provisions of the reconciliation deed and live peacefully strictly according to it ...

24. Jhong document of 1953 :

Text (lines : 12 - 14 and 30 - 31)

12. ... ... ṣīṃ

13. ka gāũko bhanāī bhai jhagaḍā parirahe(ko) mā tapāī tapsīlmā leṣīyā kā paṃcāyat bhalā dmī

+++

30. ... ... mī

31. lnu bhanī samjhāunu hudā hāmī duvā tharako cīta bujhyo

Translation

12 - 13. ... in connection with the dispute going on, as a result of such a point contended for in argument by the Khimka village, as you, the *panchayat bhaladmis*, listed below,

+++

30 - 31. ... ... persuaded to come to peaceful terms, we, both of the parties, are satisfied

25. <u>Marpha document</u> (Regulations) of 1933 :

<u>Text</u> : (lines : 283 - 285)

283. jyesṭa asāra mahīnāmā uvābālīko bīcāra

284. garī temekymā pancabalī gardā gāũkā bhale ādamī bolāī bhāt mā

285. su rakasī ṣuvāunu

<u>Translation</u> :

283 - 285. Taking into consideration (the state of) *uva* crops in the months of Jyeshtha and Ashadh when the *panchabali* (sacrifice of five different animals) is offered at Temeku, see that the *bhaladmis* in the village are invited and treated with cooked rice, meat and alcoholic drinks.

+++ June 11, 1995

Wild life in ancient Khingar, Mustang

Archaeological evidence for locally extinct animal species in the Dzong Khola Valley, Northern Nepal

—Angela von den Driesch

Introduction

In 1991 and 1992 the German Archaeological Institute in co-operation with HMG Department of Archaeology has been excavating the settlement mound of Khingar, a village situated half-way between Kagbeni and Muktinath upon the left slope of the Dzong Khola creek. The excavations were carried out within the frame of the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology under the direction of Dr. H.-G. Hüttel (KAVA, Bonn). The old settlement of Khingar has been inhabited over a long time span. The dating is mainly based upon imported ceramics from Kathmandu valley, Terai and Northern India, but also by means of radiocarbon dates. So far three periods of occupation could be established. Whereas the first settling period (I) was limited to the center of the mound, its inhabitation probably ending during the 2nd century A.D., a more extended habitation due to an increased population have been observed for the period II (3th/4th to 8th century A.D.) and for the subsequent period III dating approximately from the 10th to the 13th/14th century (see in detail Hüttel 1993; 1993a; 1994).

During the excavations a great amount of faunal material was sampled, which mainly consists of bones and bone fragments of slaughtered and hunted animals, and which can be considered kitchen refuse of the former settlers. A preliminary report on the bone material excavated in 1991 has already been published (von den Driesch 1993). In 1992 twice as much material has been collected so that the total number of bone fragments of the ancient village now exceeds 18.000 bone specimens.

As already stated for the older material from the 1991 campaign, the faunal assemblage consists

primarily of domesticated animals. Sheep, goat, cattle, yak and yak-cattle-hybrids played a dominant role in the economy of the settlement. Besides, people also kept horses, mules, donkeys and to a minor extent pigs, chickens, dogs and cats. Evidence for hunting activities is scarce and the percentage of bones of wild animals relative to the total amount of remains is below 3.

Due to the extensive sample which is now available, our knowledge of wild life has increased considerably. Apart from the species recognised on the basis of the 1991 samples, such as blue sheep, *Pseudois nayaur,* musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus,* marmot, *Marmota bobak,* wooly hare, *Lepus oriostolus,* mouse-hare, *Ochotona roylei,* and some wild birds (see table 1 in von den Driesch 1993), the new material contained other species of mammals and birds to be expected in the region (table 1). Additionally it revealed some species of game and one domestic species which are not known to occur at present or to have occurred in the more recent past in the Muktinath valley and adjacent areas (Final Report 1994). These extraordinary remains include the following species:

1) Water buffalo, *Bubalus bubalis f. domestica*
2) Himalayan tahr, *Hemitragus jemlahicus*
3) Goral, *Nemorhaedus goral*
4) Red deer, *Cervus elaphus*
5) Barking deer, *Muntiacus muntjak*
6) Wild boar, *Sus scrofa*
7) Himalayan weasel, *Mustela sibirica*
8) Weasel, *Mustela nivalis*

The purpose of this contribution is to describe the material and to illustrate the criteria used for identification. The presence of these species in question not only contributes to our knowledge of their former zoogeographic distribution, it also helps to reconstruct the former landscape and the natural environment of the valley at the time of its early occupation.

An overview of the wild species collected from Khingar is given in table 1. Those animals which fit in our knowledge of species distribution in the study area do not need further discussion here.

Table 1. Wild species identified from the bone find from Khingar (K) and the cave system from Jharkot (J)*.

Mammals

Blue sheep or Bharal, *Pseudois nayaur* (K)
Tahr, *Hemitragus jemlahicus* (K)
Goral, *Nemorhaedus goral (K)*
Red deer, *Cervus elaphus* (K)
Barking deer, *Munticaus muntjak* (K,J)
Musk deer, *Moschus moschiferus* (K,J)
Wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (K)
Grey wolf, *Canis lupus* **
Red fox, *Vulpes vulpes* (K)
Himalayan weasel, *Mustela sibirica* (K)
Weasel, *Mustela nivalis* (K)
Bobak, *Marmota bobak* (K)
Rat, *Rattus rattus* (K,J)
Tree mouse, *Apodemus flavicollis* (K,J)
Wooly hare, *Lepus oriostolus* (K,J)
Mouse-hare, *Ochotona roylei* (K,J)

Birds

Eurasian wigeon, *Anas penelope* (J)
Garganey, *Anas querquedula* (J)
Common teal, *Anas crecca* (J)
Black kite, *Milvus migrans* (K)
Himalayan griffon, *Gyps himalayensis* (K,J)
Chukar partridge, *Alectoris graeca chukar* (K,J)
Snow partridge, *Lerwa lerwa* (K)
Indian gallinule, *Gallinula chloropus* (J)
Common crane, *Grus grus* (K)
Blue rock or hill pigeon, *Columba livia* or *C. rupestris* (K,J)
Snow pigeon, *Columba leuconta* (K,J)
Thrush, *Turdus sp.* (J)
Red-billed cough, *Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax* (K,J)
Tree sparrow, *Passer montanus* (K,J)

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* Most of the small mammal and bird bones from the cave system of Jharkot can be considered as regurgitated pelets by owls.
** Identified from the faunal material from Dzar, 16th century.

Material and osteometric data

1) Water buffalo

Table 2 lists the skeletal parts which on the basis of their size and morphology can be assigned to domestic water buffalo. Figg. 1 and 3 demonstrate the morphological differences of proximal metacarpus and phalanx 2 between water buffalo and other related species of large bovids, as there are cattle, *Bos primigenius f. taurus,* yak, *Bos mutus f. grunniens,* and gaur, *Bibos gaurus.* As can be seen, the morphology of the bones from Khingar fits best with the one observed in water buffalo. The notch between the proximal articular facets of the metacarpal in water buffalo and in cattle is considerably more pronounced than in that of yak and gaur (fig.1), and the ridge between the two facets, considerably shorter than in the former species. Differences between *Bubalus* and *Bos primigenius* can be found in the two proximal articular facets being much more flattened in relation to the anterior-posterior length of the proximal articular surface in the first species (fig.1c-e). *Bubalus* possesses a strong tuberositas at the palmar margin of its articular surface, which is also seen in the fossil specimen from Khingar.

In view of location and dating, the four water buffalo bones must derive from four different individuals. None of them is dated to the latest period. The metacarpal bone is large, the two phalanges even very large. The measurement of the metacarpus falls into the size range given for corresponding prehistoric water buffalo bones from Northeastern Thailand (Higham 1975, table 1 and 4). Unfortumately no measurements of the 2nd phalanx from fossil and subfossil water buffalo could be found in the literature. But in spite oft their large size, we consider the bones as belonging to the domesticated form of water buffalo, hence *Bubalus bubalis f. domestica* (see below).

Table 2. Bone material from water buffalo.

location	period	skeletal part	measurements *
BXXII 79/11	II late	fragment of frontal bone with part of the basis of the horncore of a male	-
BXXI 87/14	II	phalanx 3	-
BXXI F 344	II late	proximal end of right metacarpus	Bp 73.0 Dp 44.0 fig.1d
BXXII 5.3/25	I	phalanx 1 posterior, partially damaged, male	GLpe (68.0) Bp (37.0) Bd (39.5)
BXXI 88/16	II	phalanx 2 anterior, male	GL 47.5 Bp 41.5 SD 30.0 Bd 33.0 fig.3c

* Abbrevations as listened in von den Driesch 1976

2) Himalayan tahr

The faunal material from Khingar also contained bones of a wild caprid (table 3), which considerably surpass the corresponding bones of domestic goats in size and show different morphological features. In the first stage of the investigation it was thought that they pertain to ibex, *Capra ibex sibirica,* or to markhor, *Capra falconeri,* but this two species do not belong to the indigenous fauna of the Nepalese Himalayas. With concern to the ibex Prater (1971, 254) writes: "The Himalayan ibex inhabits the western Himalayan range, and the mountain range which lie beyond in Kashmir and Baluchistan. Its eastern limits are set by the upper reaches of the Sutlej river east of which it does not occur" (see also Haltenorth and Trense 1956). From the markhor it is known that it inhabitis the Himalayas from the valley of Kahsmir westwards, and the Hindukush (Prater 1971, 257).

Intensive osteological comparison with skeletons of modern specimens revealed the three first bones listened in table 3 as belonging to the tahr (figg. 2 and 4e,f). This wild species is now extinct in the mountains surrounding the Muktinath valley but occurs on the southern flanks of the Himalayas (see below).

3) Goral

From this medium sized goat-antelope, two bone fragments have been identified (table 3). Although the right scapula, dated into the period III, is damaged, one can see the straight crest at the caudal margin of the collum and the almost circular outline articular suface of the cavity process, which is characteristic for members of the *rupicaprini* group.

Table 3. Bone material from thar and goral.

location	period	skeletal part	measurements
tahr:			
AXI 64/47	III	right scapula of a male	SLC 29.0 GLP 47.0 LG 39.5 BG 32.0 fig. 4 f
BXXII 37/1	III	right proximal radius, male	Bp 41.0 BFp 37.5 fig. 2
BXXII R 5.3/23	II early	left centroquartale	GB 35.0
goral:			
AXI 51/32	III	right scapula	BG 21.2
BXXI 62, 72/24	I(-II)	right distal metatarsus, probably male	Bd 27.0

4) Red deer

Completely unexpected were found two bone remains in the sample deriving from a large deer species. One represents a small piece from the crista ischiadica of a pelvic bone from BXXII 34/1, typical for the family *Cervidae* with its pronounced muscle attachment lines. The second find is a distal end of a right radius measuring 52.5 mm Bd (fig. 5d). It was found in BXXII 74,64/2. Both finds date to period III. However, the excavator sug-

gested, that the archaeological material from these two locations is mixed up and could contain older material.

As no species of large deer is reported to live in the southern part of the Mustang district, we first tried to establish from what species the radius might derive. Osteological comparison with deer species of about the same size and occurring in the Indian and Central Asiatic region clearly revealed, that the bone in question belonged to the group of red deer. As could be ascertained, the most distinctive osteological feature are the two sharp ridges on the dorsal side of the bone, which are shorter and stand closer together in *Cervus elaphus* than in the other two species compared, the barasingha or swamp deer, *Cervus (Rucervus) duvauceli* and the sambar, *Cervus unicolor* (fig. 5a,b). The two latter species from their distribution areas and habitat can be excluded to have occurred in the Muktinath valley or the nearby Kali Gandaki valley, even in prehistoric times.

The distal breadth of 52.5 mm falls within the variation known from radii of prehistoric red deer from southeastern Turkey. Following Pietschmann (1977, table 1) the size range of the distal radius of chalcolithic and early bronze age turkish red deer, belonging to the subspecies *maral* varies from 51.0 to 64.0 mm. The maral whose distribution area reaches eastwards as far as Pakistan, belongs to the largest subspecies of red deer known from the Old World. As quoted by Kurt und Zhiwotschenko (1988, 194) red deer is represented in Central Asia and in the Himalayas with relatively small subspecies. Unfortunately bone measurements from other subspecies of red deer from Central Asia, e.g. from the hangul, *Cervus elaphus hangul,* or the somewhat larger shou, *Cervus elaphus wallichi,* are not available.

5) Barking deer

Those skeletal parts which have been attributed to this small deer are listed in table 4. Identification was possible by means of intensive osteological comparison of the small deer bone material excavated in Khingar with recent skeletons of musk deer and muntjak. Whereas remains of musk deer, - a species which still lives today in the scrub covered ravines of the Dzong Khola, - are much more abundant in the faunal material from Khingar, three bone specimens turned out to be from muntjak. The presence of the scapula indicates that the whole carcass has been brought into the settlement and that we are not dealing with a traded skin. However, it must be noted that in some tombs excavated in the cave system of Jharkot isolated upper canines of male musk deer and muntjak were found. These teeth are often perforated and have served as jewellery. No doubt, these finds represent trade object.

Table 4. Bone material from muntjak.

location	period	skeletal part	measurement
BXXII R 7.1/20	II	right scapula of a male	GLP 29.8 LG 21.5 BG 21.0
AXI 72/39	III	right adult mandibula	-
AXI H 1.6/47	II-III	right juvenile mandibula (M3 not yet errupted)	-

6) Wild boar

From wild boar two halfs of a jaw of a male, broken into many pieces, have been identified from BXXII 79/9-11 (period II). The following measurements could be taken:

Length of the molar row	83.0	
Length of M3	44.5 left	45.0 right
Breadth of M3	17.5 left	18.0 right

The third molars show medium wear (fig. 6b). Teeth dimensions leave no doubt that this huge jaw comes from a wild boar and not from a domestic pig.

7) Himalayan weasel

The faunal material from Khingar revealed the complete jaw (right and left side) of a rather large weasel originating from AXI 61/31, period III. Measurements: total length of one half 29.0, greatest height of the coronar process 13.2, length of the tooth row (M2-J) 19.3, length of the tooth row (M2-P1) 14.0, length of M1 15.5 mm. These dimensions fit well into the size range given for modern Siberian weasels, *Mustela sibirica* (Glover 1938, 372 ff), which is the largest of the weasels from the Indomalayan region (Prater 1971, 157). Recent distribution is given by Corbet and Hill (1992, map 90, see also fig. 9).

8) Weasel

From BXXI F 348 (period I) comes a very small left femur of a weasel: GL 25.0, SD 1.9. Bd 4.7 mm. These dimensions fit best to the weasel, *Mustela nivalis* (see Reichstein 1993, table 112 f.). According to Corbet and Hill (1992, 195) the range of *Mustela nivalis* in Central and Eastern Asia comprises "N Vietnam, and high altitude in Sichuan, SW China and throughout most of the Palaearctic and Nearctic regions; approaching this region in Afghanistan but apparently absent from the high Himalayas" (see also fig. 9). Two other species of weasel occurring in the Annapurna conservation area, the yellow-bellied weasel,

Mustela kathiah, and the stoat, *Mustela erminea,* grow larger than the animal from which this small femur derived, but no postcranial bone measurement for the yellow-bellied weasel are available.

Zoogeographic distribution and natural habitat

As stated by Prater (1971, 248) tall grass jungles and reed brakes in the neighbourhood of swamp provide the ideal habitat for the **wild buffalo**. It is therefore a typical inhabitant of the grass jungles of the Nepal Terai and the plains of the Brahmaputra in Assam. Pools of water to lie in, and mud wallows in which to roll and cake themselves with earth is the environment still required for its domestic descendant, the **water buffalo.** Judging from its habitat the assumption is not acceptable that wild buffalo has penetrated in earlier times into the Kali Gandaki valley as far and high as the upper Thakkola. In spite of the large size of the bones found at Khingar (see measurements in table 2), it is more likely to assume, that the early settlers who reached the Muktinath valley in the very early Middle Ages brought domestic water buffalo with them; a fact which from ecological point of view is not less interesting, since today the keeping of water buffalo is no longer possible in the area. We saw water buffalo in the lower parts of the Kali Gandaki valley between Tatopani and Ghasa. Today the animals are kept at lower altitudes, generally not higher than 2.500 m above sea level.

In Nepal the **Himalayan tahr** ranges from the broad-leaved forest zone to the alpine meadows but favours grassy cliffs with patches of trees (Corbet and Hill 1992, 272). All authors agree that the animals select the most inaccessible ground to live in and are found on cliffs, rocks, in dense scrub, and forest (fig. 7). It is known to prefer forests of oak, rungal and cane, generally favouring altitudes of 2.500 to 4.400 m. According to recent investigations on distribution, status and factors responsible for population trends (Bauer 1990), the Himalayan tahr inhabits a narrow strip along the southern flanks of the Himalayas (fig. 7). Tahr seems to be much more abundant in the eastern regions of Nepal with high precipation rates. This does not correspond with Schallers (1977) observations, that the animal is not able to tolerate warmer and more humid conditions (Bauer 1990). In western Nepal the tahr is restricted to rugged terrain at lower altitudes, and is not found at high altitudes, where it has been replaced by the bharal. Nowadays the whole Mustang district is without any occurrence of tahr (fig. 7).

A similar picture emerges for the **goral**. Like tahr goral also is confined today to the southern flanks of the Himalaya. It shows high climatic flexibility ranging from 300 m in the subtropical Terai to the cold himalayan regions in 4.000 m above sea level. Bauer (1990) argued that its present distribution - mainly on steep, dry southern and western slopes between altitudes of 2.000 to 2.800 m - suggests, that this species is now occupying more marginal habitats, whereas it has disappeared from many regions of the densely populated middle hills and in the northern valleys. Goral still occurs in considerable numbers in the lower altitudes of Langtang National Park. The Bio-diversity Conservation Data Project of the Annapurna Conservation Area (1994) has recorded

the goral throughout the southern slopes of the Annnapurna range (see also fig. 8).

From all the members of the family *Cervidae* **red deer** once occupied the widest distribution area comprising Europe, Asia and North America. Due to deforestation, overhunting and ever extending ursurpation of land by man, the territory has shrinked considerably and red deer disappeared from regions where they were common. Although very adaptable, their habitat depends from grazing conditions and season, they are mainly inhabitants of forests or grass jungles. Deer are never found in desert and open land. The Kahsmir stag for example, now limited to the north side of the valley of Kashmir and some adjacent valleys (Prater 1971, 287), seldom remains long in one area but roams from forest to forest to find good grazing. Winter is spent at lower altitudes, summer on the heights going uphill as fas as the snow-line.

As such, the presence of bones of red deer in an archaeological context always indicates forests or high vegetation where the animals could find sufficent covering.

Like all other deer species also **muntjak** needs protection through vegetation and avoids dry steppe biotope. It keeps to more or less thick jungle and comes out to graze in the outskirts of forest or in open clearings (Prater 1971, 294). Although it occurs up to altitude of 2.500 m and even higher, it cannot longer live in the surroundings of the Dzong Khola valley with its poor cover and scarce vegetation, and therefore has disappeared from the region.

The Bio-diversity Conservation Data Project (1994) reported **Indian wild boar,** *Sus scrofa cristatus,* as occurring in the past in Lamjung area. Now it is supposed to be exterminated as no recent reports are available from the Annapurna Conservation Area, where it was presumably found as high as 1.500 m. The jaw bones of *Sus scrofa* (fig. 6) excavated in Khingar from layers of period II show clearly that the distribution area reached further north and probably at higher altitudes, at least during the earlier Middle Ages. Boar require grass or scanty bush jungle or forest. This type of biotope can be postulated along the Kali Gandaki river from Jomsom northwards before deforestation by man and overgrazing by his domestic stock destroyed the vegetation.

As can be seen from fig. 9 the **Himalayan weasel** at present ranges in the E Himalayas, - mostly above 2.400 m, - and from here east to the northern parts of Burma, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, most of China, Taiwan also throughout N China, much of Siberia and Japan (Corbet and Hill 1992, 196). Interesting to note that evidences for the **weasel**, *Mustela nivalis,* are known on the one hand from N Vietnam and at high altitudes in SW China and on the other hand from Afghanistan westwards (fig. 9). The species ' apparent absence from the high Himalayas may be due to lack of records especially when considering the fact that *Mustela nivalis* is generally very rare in Eastern Asia.

Conclusions

Today Khingar lies in a semi-desert environment with little precipitation and scarce vegetation. Apart from willows, mostly populars are found

only in and near the villages and are cultivated and exploited intensively. The natural vegetation includes shrubberies of junipers, caragana, rosa and cotoneaster. This type of biotope is also found around Kagbeni in the Kali Gandaki valley. The region above Kalopani up to Jomsom is designated as a transition zone with a similar plant cover known for the sub-alpine and alpine characteristics. This area connects the humid type of environment in the south with the dry-arid or tundra type in the north. Two important valleys cross the transitional area, i.e. Manang valley and Kali Gandaki valley. The Manang valley east to the Thorung La and Tilichio himal receives comparatively higher precipitation than the Kali Gandaki valley near Jomsom (200 - 300 mm/ year). As such the Manang valley retains better greenery than the Thakkola valley. Seen zoogeographically, the transition zone acts as a bridge for migratory fauna. The Thakkola passageway seems to represent a better migratory route than the Manang valley (Final Report 1994).

The faunal material from ancient Khingar dates back as far as the early Middle Ages or even earlier. So far, the faunal samples yielded seven wild mammal and one domestic species which do not belong the recent fauna known from the area and which are now distributed either in more southern (tahr, goral, muntjak, wild boar and water buffalo) or in more eastern resp. northwestern regions (red deer, weasels). All eight species mentioned above cannot live under arid or tundra like conditions. They need forest or grass jungles with patches of trees where they can find refuge, especially big game species such as tahr, red deer and wild boar. Judging from their preferred habitat, the assessment is allowed, that the land north of Jomsom up to Kagbeni and the Muktinath valley should have carried forests and thickets comparable to those vegetational structures found on the eastern slopes of the Nilgiri himal opposit to Marpha and Tukche. Thus it can be deduced from the fauna identified in ancient Khingar that the sparse vegetational cover of present day is solely the result of human activities, especially the cutting of bushes and trees. Whereas deforestation continued, the soil became exposed to wind and water erosion. The little precipitation did not favour the growing of new wood. Combined with overgrazing by domestic animals, in particular by sheep and goat, one can imagine that all those factors transformed the region into a habitat of extreme living conditions.

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- a *Bibos gaurus* male recent
- b *Bos mutus grunniens* male recent
- c *Bubalus bubalis f. domestica* male recent
- d *Bubabus bubalis* from Khingar
- e *Bos primigenius* fossil from Bulgaria

Bp a - e: 74.5; 69.0; 74.0; 73.0; 73.0 mm

Fig. 2 Proximal radius from tahr, Khingar

Fig. 3 Second anterior phalanges from large bovids in comparison
- a *Bibos gaurus* male recent
- b *Bubalus bubalis f. domestica* male recent
- c *Bubalus bubalis* from Khingar
- d *Bos mutus grunniens* male recent
- e *Bos primigenius* fossil from Bulgaria

GLpe a - e: 53.0; 46.0; 47.5; 41.0; 47.0 mm

Fig. 4 Right scapulae from ovicaprini in comparison
- a *Pseudois nayaur* male recent
- b *Ovis ammon hodgsoni* male recent
- c *Capra falconeri* male recent
- d *Capra ibex sibirica* male recent
- e *Hemitragus jemlahicus* male recent
- f *Hemitragus jemlahicus*, Khingar

GLP a - f: 40.5; 39.0; 41.2; 45.0; 44.0; 47.0 mm

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a *Cervus duvauceli* male recent

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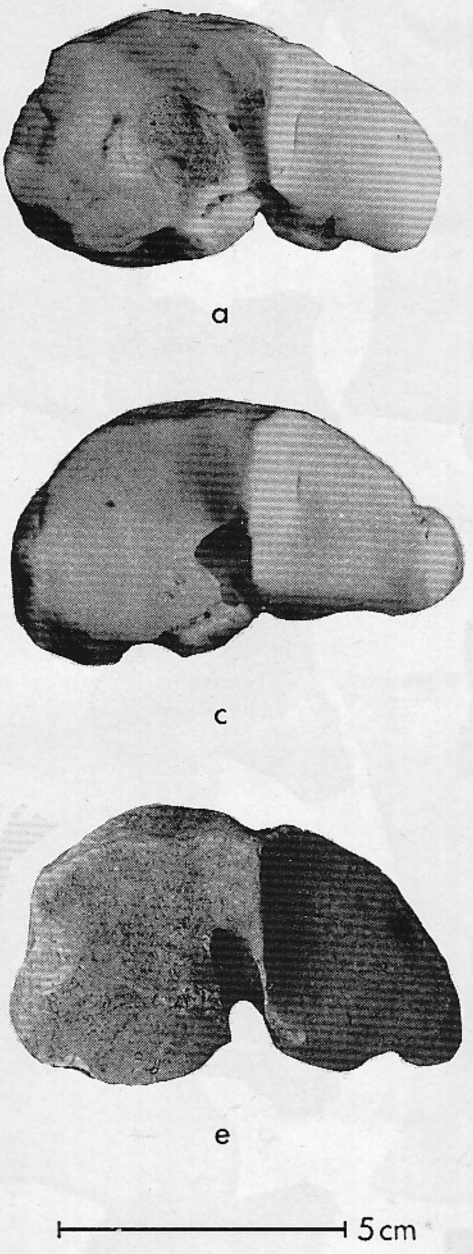
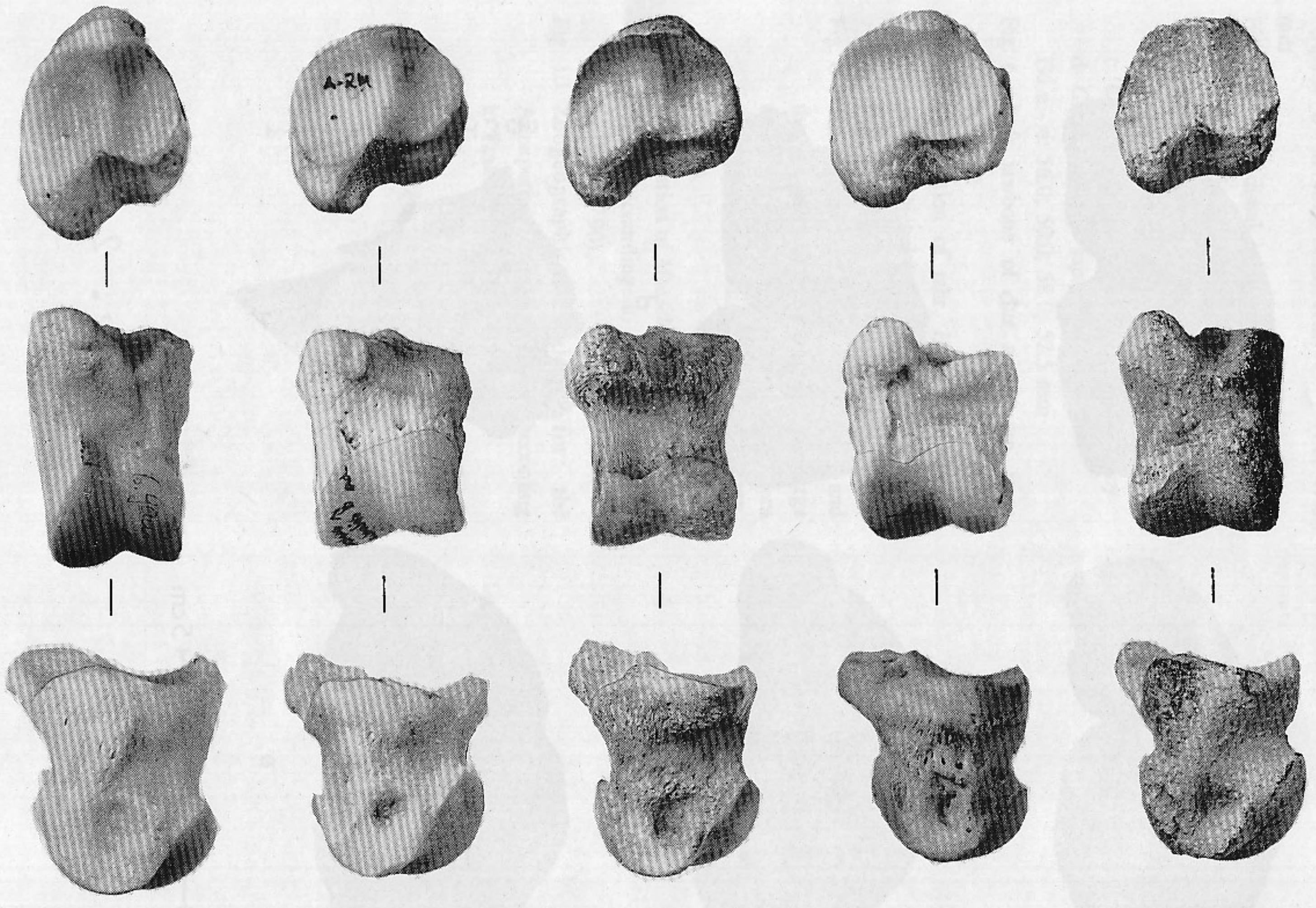


Fig. 1

Fig. 2



a b c d e

Fig. 3

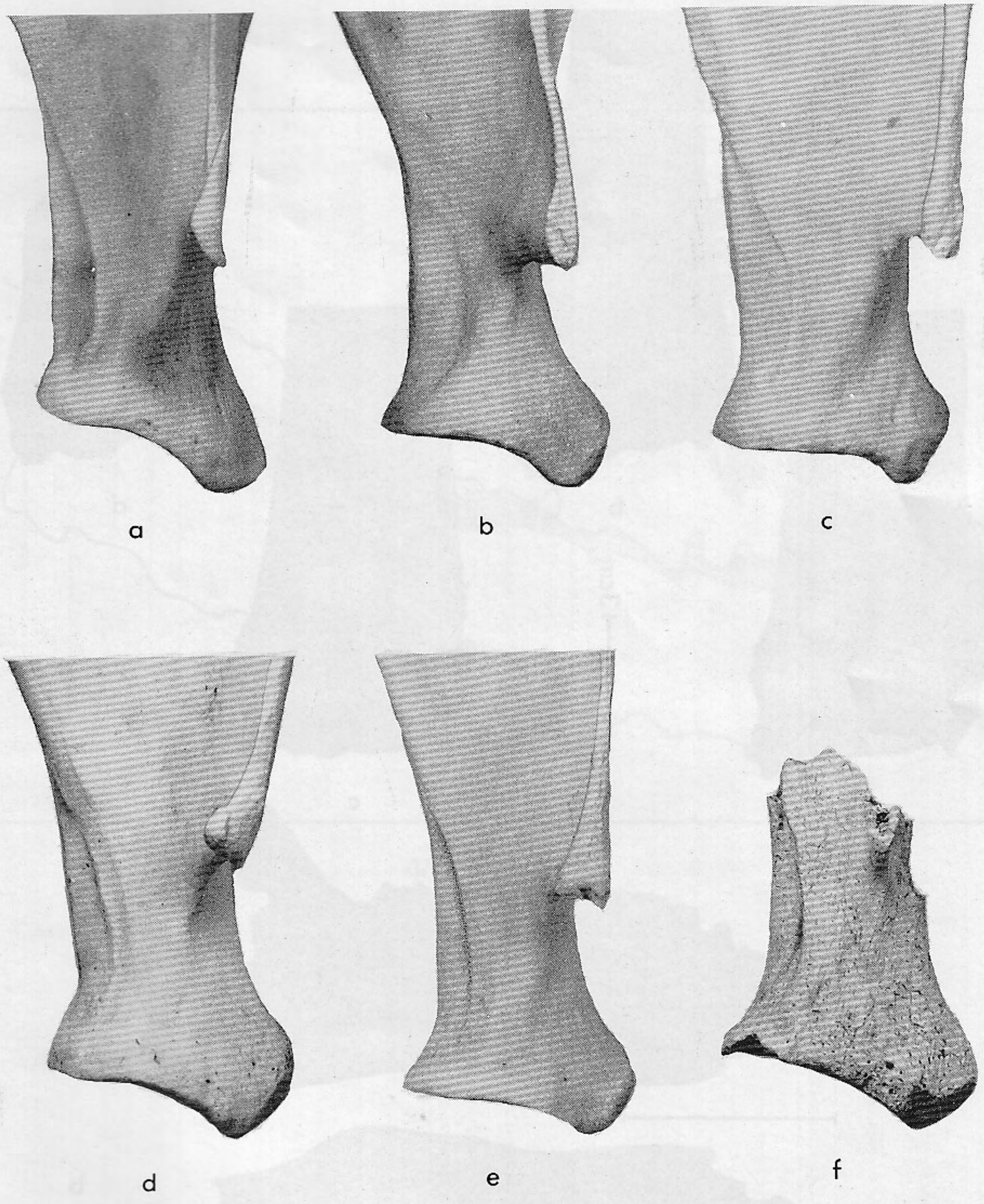
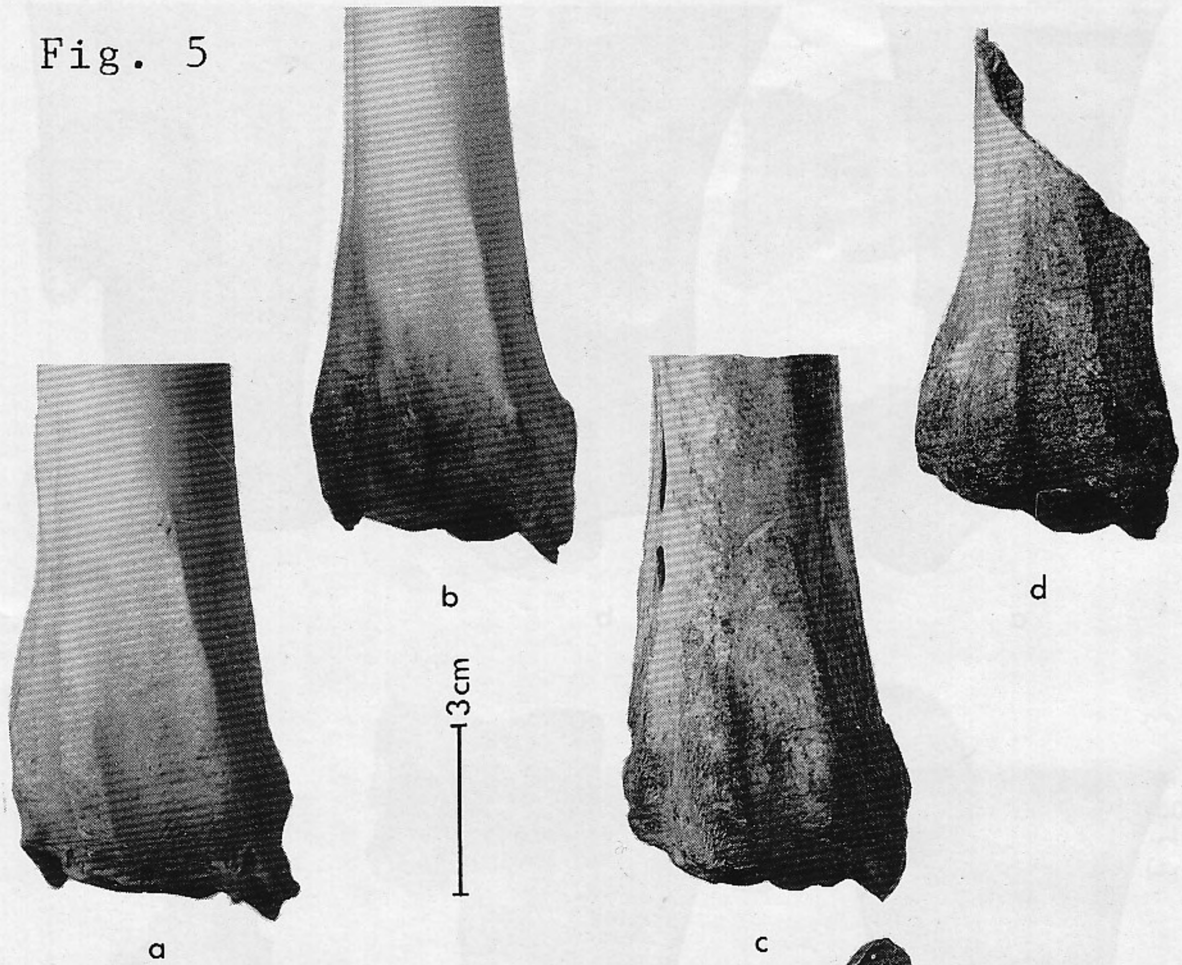


Fig. 4

Fig. 5



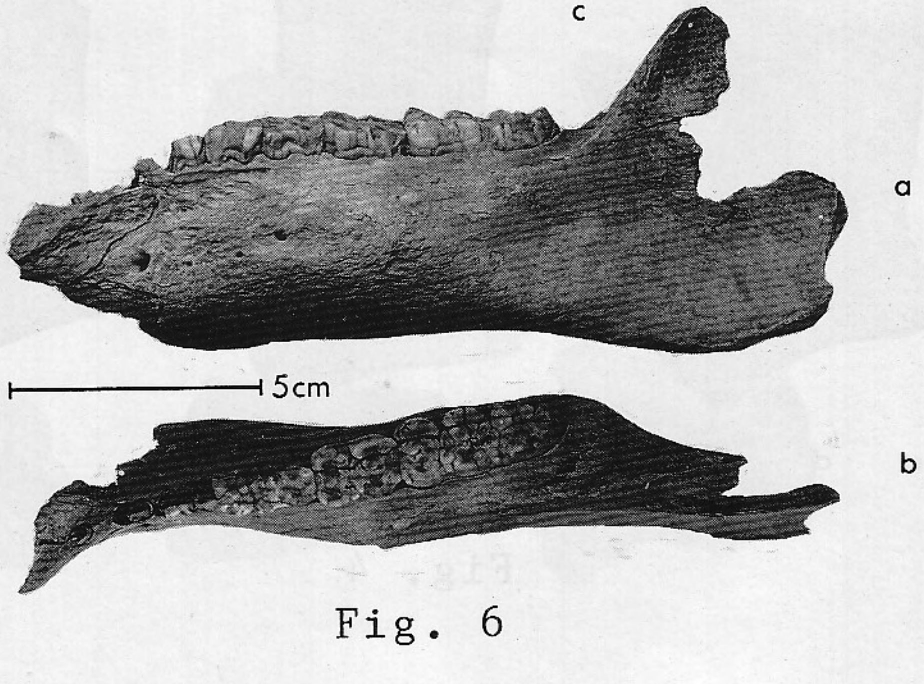


Fig. 6

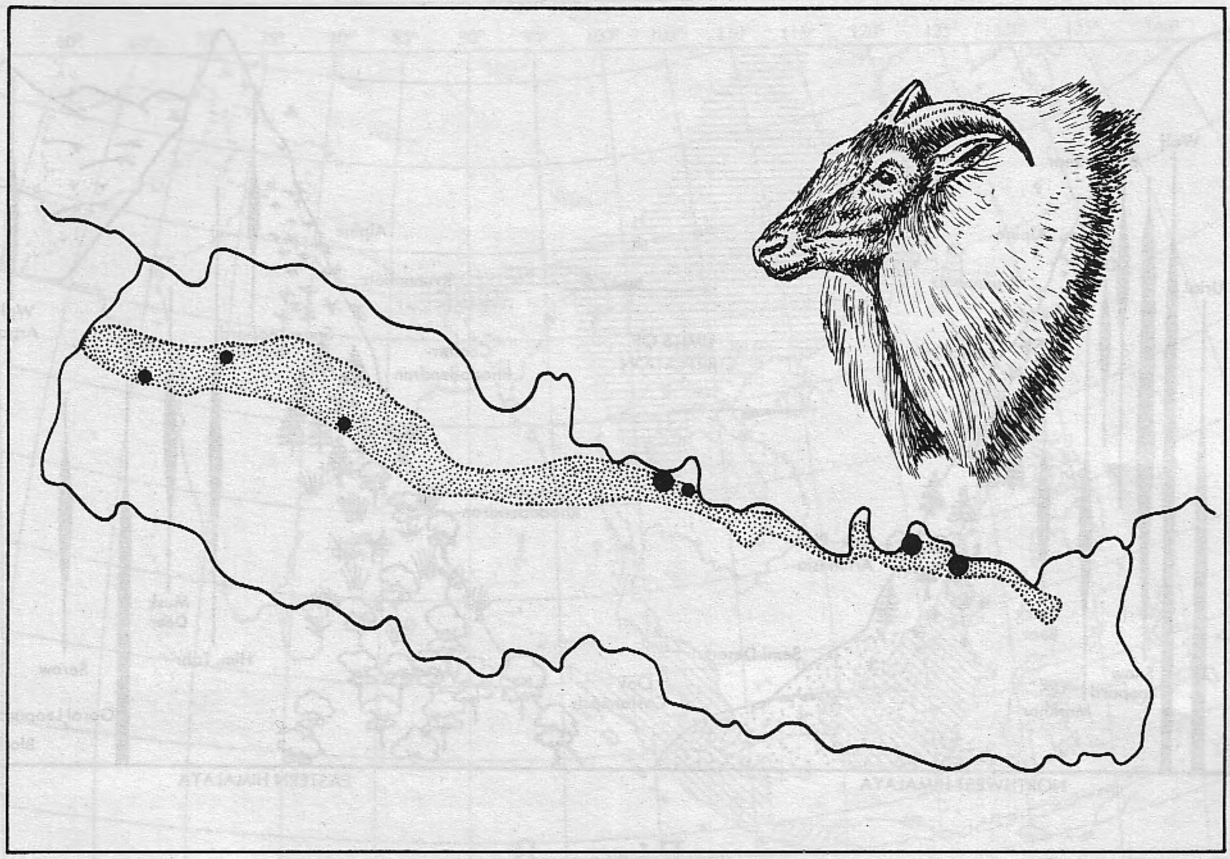


Fig. 7

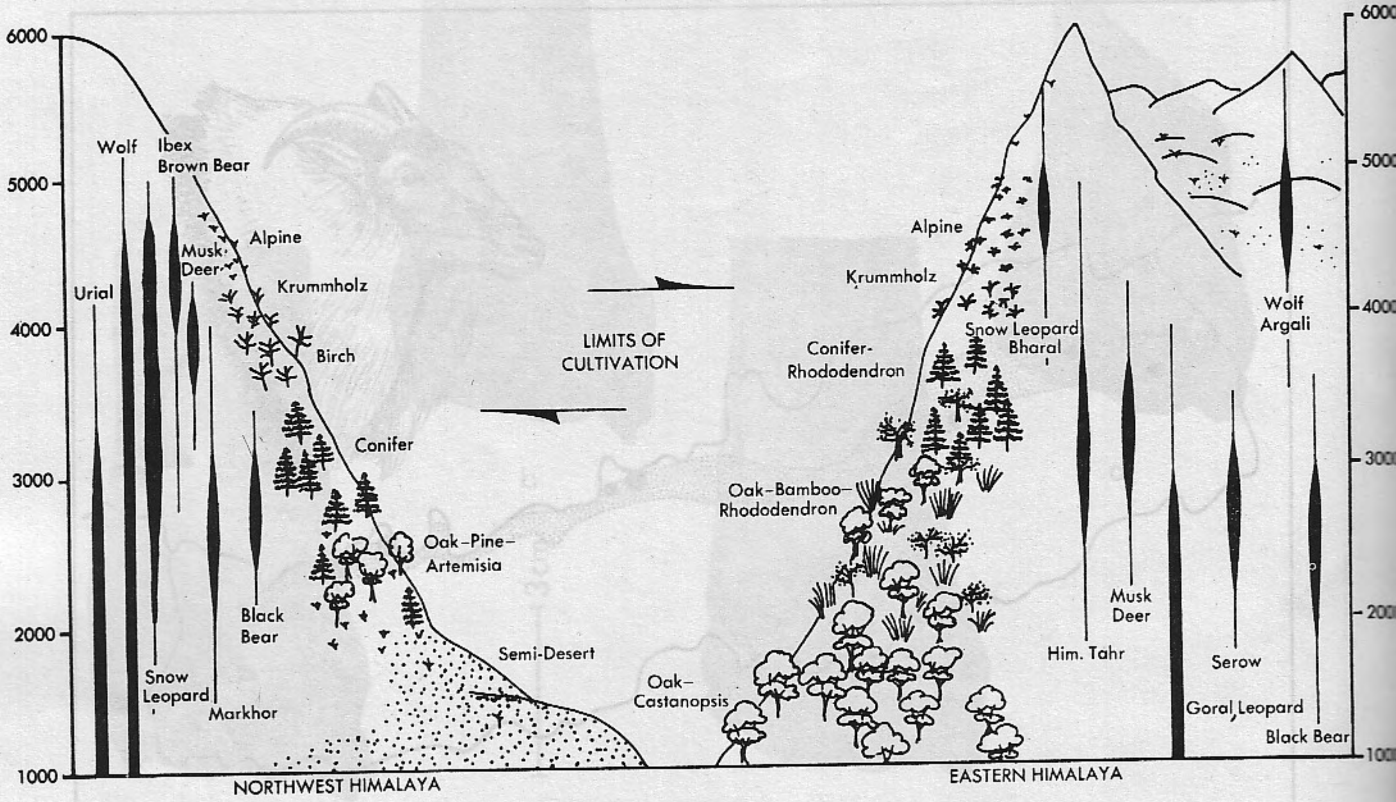

6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
Wolf
Ibex
Brown Bear
Urial
Musk Deer
Alpine
Krummholz
Birch
Conifer
Oak-Pine-Artemisia
Black Bear
Snow Leopard
Markhor
Semi-Desert
NORTHWEST HIMALAYA
LIMITS OF CULTIVATION
Alpine
Krummholz
Conifer-Rhododendron
Snow Leopard
Bharal
Wolf
Argali
Oak-Bamboo-Rhododendron
Oak-Castanopsis
Musk Deer
Him. Tahr
Serow
Goral, Leopard
Black Bear
EASTERN HIMALAYA

Fig. 8

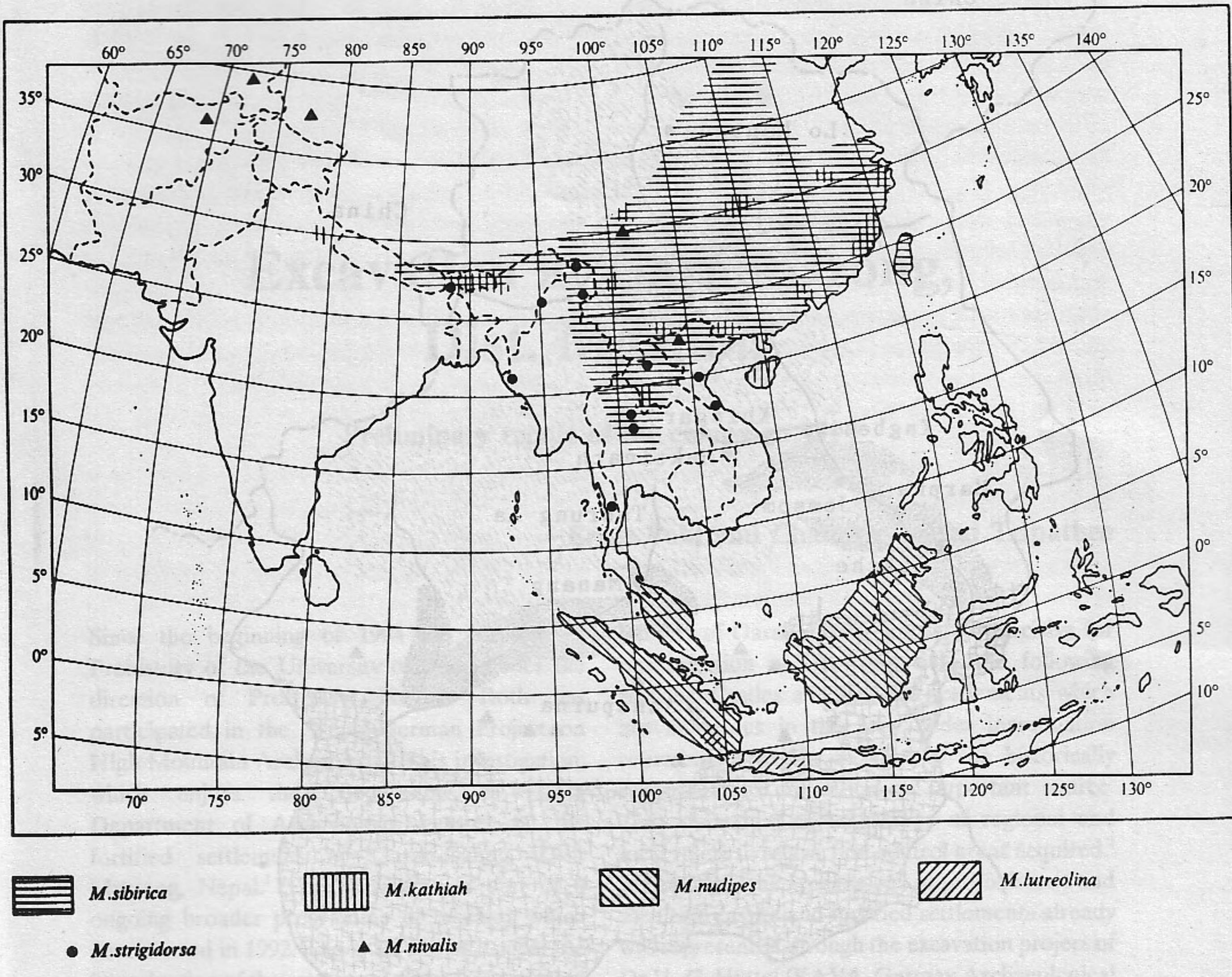

M.sibirica
M.kathiah
M.nudipes
M.lutreolina
M.strigidorsa
M.nivalis

Fig. 9

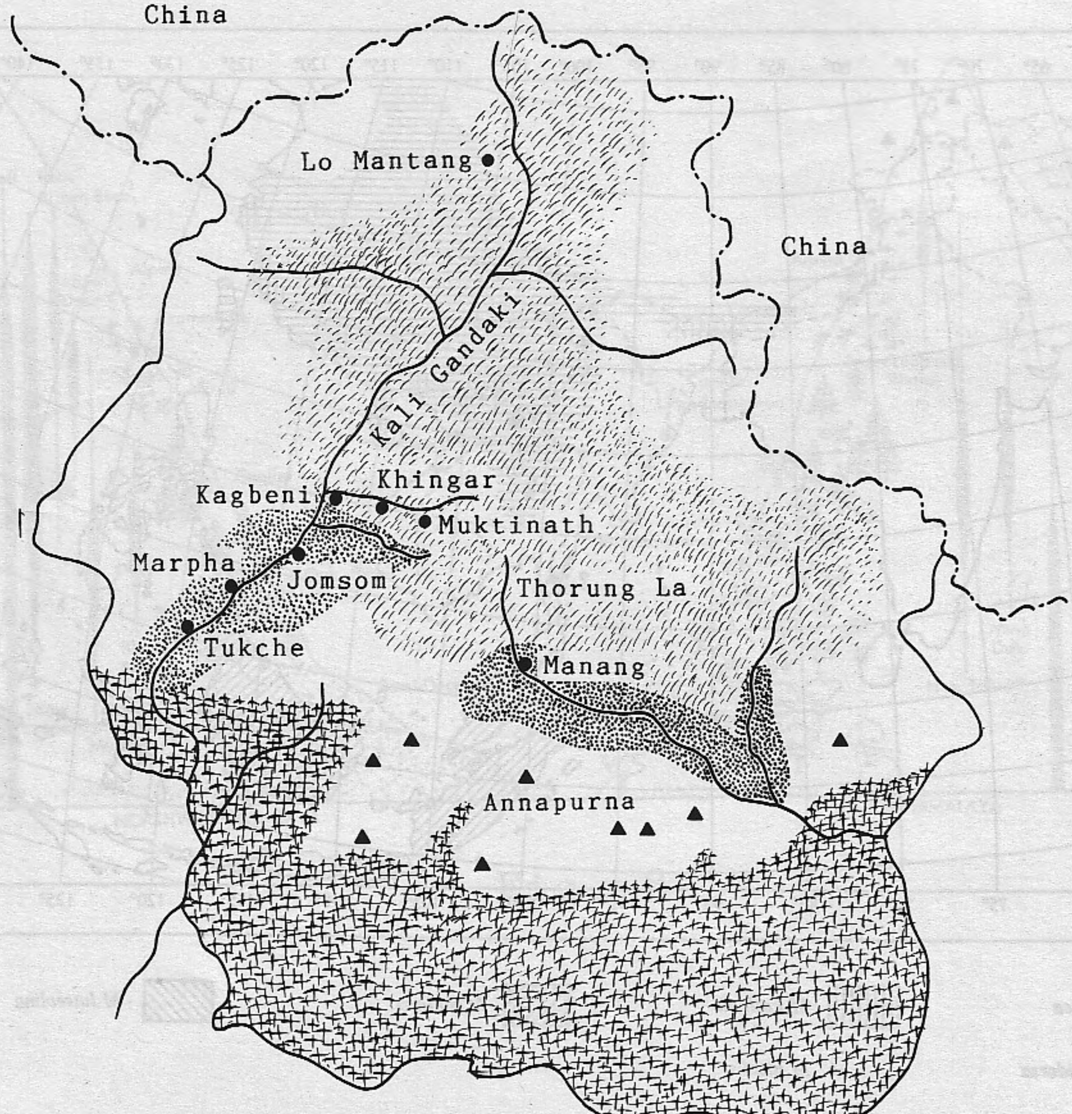

China
China
Lo Mantang
Kali Gandaki
Kagbeni
Khingar
Muktinath
Marpha
Jomsom
Tukche
Thorung La
Manang
Annapurna

Fig. 10

Humid zone
Transition zone
Arid or Tundra zone
studied area
NEPAL

Excavation at Garab-Dzong, Dist. Mustang

Preliminary report of the campaign 1994

– Ernst Pohl and Chandra Prasad Tripathee

Since the beginning of 1994 the Institute of Prehistory of the University of Bonn under the direction of Prof. Dr. Helmut Roth has participated in the "Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology". This investigation, which enjoys the cooperation of HMG Department of Archaeology, centres on the fortified settlement of Garab-Dzong, Dist. Mustang, Nepal.[1] The excavation is part of a ongoing broader programme of research which commenced in 1992. The latter has as its goal the investigation of the settlement processes and state formation in the high Himalayas characterized by Tibetan culture and tradition. Thereby researchers of different disciplines from Nepal and those from several European countries have convened.[2]

The project which began this year is dealing with the settlement archaeology of the immediate area of southern Mustang, in the centre of which the hill fort of Garab-Dzong is located. Decisive for our selection of this area were the following reasons: Castles and fortified settlements which are numerous in the area under investigation represent especially in light of the historically recorded state formation an important source. They document the measures of regional and local rulers to secure and control areas acquired.[3] Inasmuch as the archaeology of protohistoric and medieval castles and fortified settlements already was represented through the excavation project of Dr H.-G. Hüttel (KAVA, German Archaeological Insitute) with an emphasis in the Muktinath valley,[4] our intention was directed to the other large valley system of southern Mustang, the Kali-Gandaki valley and its tributaries.

In the same way as in the Muktinath valley, castles and fortified settlements also are manifest which situated on strategic places command the routes which traverse the Kali-Gandaki valley and

its tributaries. The largest of the castles and fortified settlements in southern Mustang, Garab-Dzong, lies in the estuary of the Langbo-Kyung in the Kali-Gandaki valley. By virtue of its location it commands the north-south route through this valley, and the route toward the east through the Mesokanto pass on the way to Manang. The settlement (Fig. 1) is located on a hill a few kilometres southwest of Jomsom, the provincial capital. Owing to erosion on all sides, the hill is separated from the surrounding terrace and connected solely by means of a narrow saddle in the south. On three sides the hill is easily fortifiable given inclines as steep as 45° and is suitable for a fortified settlement of which considerable remains on the plateau and the slopes are preserved. These include several free-standing fragmentary concentric walls.

The historical importance of this fortified settlement already has earned the attention of scholars. D. Jackson, who has elucidated the written sources for the history of Mustang in several contributions,[5] has shown that since the time of the Tibetan empire of the 7th to 9th centurys AD in the area of present-day Mustang beside *Glo* a second geographical-political entity is recorded, called *Se-Rib*.[6] This area is only rarely mentioned, but according to Jackson and Schuh often enough that the conclusion seems secure that *Se-Rib* formed a political and cultural entity that, "geographically formed a special unit next to *Glo* and includes several areas in the upper Kali-Gandaki valley".[7] Even if from the hitherto evaluated sources *Se-Rib's* former extent cannot be determined, on the strength of certain sources Jackson presumes that the fortification of Garab-Dzong played an important role in this area.[8]

Despite the fact that in the local historical tradition the existence of *Se-Rib* is undocumented,[9] in the written historical sources of the Thak Khola *(Bem-chag)* a local kingdom with the name *Sum* comes down to us.[10] In addition to the mere mention of *Se-Rib*, in this source borders are named which show its hegemony. They continue to the North to the latitude of the Lubra valley, to the South directly below Cimang, and to the East as far as the pass to Manang.[11] An otherwise unknown king named *Thokarcen* founded *Sum* whose chronogical position is uncertain owing to the special nature of the textual sources.[12] On the other hand, the *Bem-chag* cites different historically known persons who mention that the compilation of this source occured first in the second half of the 17th century AD.[13]

Important for the archaeological investigation is first the fact that in the *Chimang Bem-chag* is written that the erection of the fortification of Garab-Dzong occured at a place where an older complex existed.[14] If this part of the text correctly refersto the former conditions, then we would expect a multiperiodical settlement, the traces of which are to be sought in the excavation.

A settlement-archaeological investigation of the fortified complex of Garab-Dzong and its immediate vicinity therefore must consider the following source-related points:

1. At what point in time does the settlement on the fortified hill of Garad-Dzong begin and end?
2. Can periods be distinguished individually for the entire occupation, and how can this be established relatively and absolutely?
3. Structural comparisons of the different periods of settlement i.e. which function did the different periods of settlement fulfil? Can a fortification be determined for the earliest period or was a fort subsequently built in an existing settlement? Beside the fortification can other factors be determined which

demonstrate the purpose of the settlement (manufacturing or trade centre)?

4. In a region the character of which as a thoroughfare is geographically clear, the question arises whether different cultural impulses additionally in a chronological dimension are active which for this multiphased cultural sequence can be established.
5. The question regarding the chronology and formation of a social-political centre in a part of the Tibetan Himalayas, conditions at the same time the investigation of the effect of the settlement situation in the area directly adjacent the 'centre'. Therefore, at a later point in time we intend to investigate further satellite settlements around Garab-Dzong which belong in the settlement analysis.

Garab-Dzong possesses several archaeological advantages. First, there was no subsequent building activity on the site which would have limited the selection of areas to be excavated. On the other hand, it was noted during the first surveys that within the walls themselves often wooden beams and boards are preserved which proved to be an excellent source of dendrochronological information.[15] Since previously no chronological framework existed this fact cannot be emphasized enough. In this way we possess the means under favourable conditions to date the building periods individually. Taken in light of 14C dating and thermoluminescence we obtain a further basis to date the cultural inventory (small finds, pottery etc.) in absolute chronological terms.

During the 1994 campaign work was concentrated on the uppermost plateau, since here as opposed to the slope settlement, which is disturbed as a result of landslips, undisturbed stratigraphic observation was expected. Our efforts began with the establishment of a surveying system over the hill. The polygon has two right angles which converge toward each other, and the central bench mark is located on the eastern border of the construction. Instrumental to this selection was the fact that one could install here a north-south axis only slightly deviating form magnetic north, the anchoring of which in the ground by means of wooden pegs would only be compromized by the existing buildings. Parallel to this in the peripheral areas of the modern settlement a polygon with 15 points was set up from which the recording of the visible structures could be conducted in a 1:100 scale.

In the time available the entire upper plateau, measuring 125 x 30-40 m, could be surveyed and documented (Appendix 1). An elongated irregular oval group of ruins was surrounded by an enclosure wall. This wall remains near the western edge of the escarpment sometimes of several metres height are still standing, but much on the eastern edge has succumbed to erosion. The enclosure appears to have been erected in a single phase, which suggests a central authority for construction in this settlement period. To what extent the buildings on he slope and further enclosure walls were built at this time will be the subject of investigation in the forthcoming campaign.

Judging by the visible walls only, nearly 50 house units on the upper plateau can be indentified. A first study of the settlement structures visible on the general plan suggests that probably we are dealing with a double settlement on the upper plateau. In the centre a nearly rectangular open area is recognizeable which is surrounded on three sides by densely concentrated small architectural units. It gives the impression of extreme compactness. North of the open area lies a settlement tract which is separated from the rest of the

plateau by means of a closed facade with a single central entrance. The structures within this quarter, to judge from the remains on the surface is more generously proportioned, and we may conclude that here some of the central buildings of the settlement were located.

The main goal of the first campaign of excavation was the determination of the chronological range of the settlement in Garab-Dzong. Parallel to the investigation of the extant structural remains it was therefore important to look for signs of older settlement not visible on the surface in a central part of the plateau. In 1994 we intended to excavate to virgin soil in order to make first assessments as to the beginning of settlement in Garab-Dzong.

The position of the trenches was oriented on the structural remains visible on the surface. Following a first inspection we imposed several parallel long trenches across the plateau which would enable us to record the areas of the central area as well as the surrounding buildings. A complete profile across the plateau was intended in which the sequence of layers of the settlement were represented. While the trenches B I/XI and B II/XII were begun at once, trench B III/XIII followed inorder to extend the profile to the wall on the western slope. The surface of the trenches comprised in all nearly 200 m^2.
The stratigraphic situation can be readily summarized. In the trenches B I/XI and B III/XIII structures were uncovered which belong to the extant building remains, and thus are part of the fortified complex visible on the surface (Appendix 2). The different rooms were filled with debris in some places of 1 m depth which could not be divided stratigraphically. All of the rooms investi-gated showed a thin tamped clay floor below the natural soil level. Directly beneath them was virgin soil or massive rock. Just above the floors in several rooms different structural features which shed light on the construction and use were documented. In some room post supports still stood in place (Fig. 2). Generally the entrances of the houses and rooms survived in which the remains of wooden roofing poles were preserved (Fig. 3). In H(ouse) 2/3 a fire place (Fig. 4) was revealed allowing an identification of this room as a kitchen.

Trenches B I/X and B III/XIII yielded a great deal of wood; owing to its excellent preservation it lent itself to dendrochro-nological interpretation. This wood derives from the debris on the floors and from the walls and doorways. This data sheds light on the building of the houses and their occupation. The oldest wood samples measured till now in the Dendrochronological laboratory of the University of Cologne reveal a founding of the fortified settlement in the first half of the 16th century AD.[16] These verify the datings published by B. Schmidt in 1992/3.[17]

In the area of the architecture visible on the surface repairs and additions can be determined, also datable by means of dendro dates. This is particularly clear in House 2/1 (trench B I/XI). The eastern wall (W 3) became dilapidated at some point in time and was shored up inside by a reinforcement wall. This was further strengthened by three vertically placed poles and some horizontal boards (Fig. 5). On the western side probably during the course of the same build the entrance was changed. A wall (W 18) extending into the trench in the north was built upon an older doorway the remains of which appeared in the trench as wooden door sill. Beneath the walls fragments of older floors occurred.

On the strength of the dendro dates available up to now this rebuilding took place in the first half of the 17th century.[18] The wood samples indicate

nearly uninterrupted building activity till the end of the 18th century, and match well with the datings which were determined in 1992. Since no evidence came to light for a catastrophic end of the fortification, and dendro datings from the 19th century are not yet known, one can surmise a successive abandoning of Garab-Dzong during this century.

Evidence for settlement prior to the 16th century came to light in trench B II/XII. Beneath the floor level of the extant architectural remains several pits were sunk into the soil which contained fill of debris which was partially a loose humous mixed with gravel (Fig. 6). In these pits in addition to a large amount of pottery the remains of metal working came to light, including piles of slag and the remains of crucibles. Unfortunately no wood suitable for dendro dating came to light in this context, but recently several samples of charcoal became available for 14C dating.

Architectural remains which belong to this older period of settlement as yet have not been encountered. Several models can explain this: Either during the building of the fortified complex all of the existing buildings were demolished in order to make way for the new programme of building, or the existing architectural remains continued in use in such a way that their oldest dating is not determinable. Possibly we are dealing with a settlement in the earlier period entirely different in its structure. Indicative of this interpretation is the abundant evidence for metal working in the pits below the floors in trench B II/XII. If the filling of these pits was not brought in from outside, for which there is no evidence, then we must conclude that in the centre of the hill metals workshops were located, certainly out of place in a dense packed settlement.

Notable among the finds are ca. 25000 sherds which were completely recorded during the course of the excavation. From our experience 10 to 20% can yield dating information on the basis of shape. Preliminary study of the pottery reveals 11 wares. Nearly 200 different rim forms are distinguishable. Most of the pottery is rough ware which is handmade with the rim area wheel-turned. Rarer are wheel-turned, fine engobed wares which are mainly drinking vessels. Probably these wares were either imported from the South or imitate pieces from there. With regard to the coarse ware, dominant are globularforms with simple undifferentiated rims. The majority of the pottery are storage vessels with a funnel rim and flat or rounded floor. Some sherds can be identified as having served for the production of *Chang*. Saucers and small beakers also occur.

The spectrum of the small finds corresponds to that which one would expect in an abandoned settlement. The iron and bronze objects include costume and adornments such as belt buckles, two fragments of bronze bangles or finger rings. Although the iron finds frequently are poorly preserved, arrowheads, nails, and objects of divers function are in evidence. Useful for dating are some sherds of Chinese porcelain, which provides evidence for the trade connections of the population. Noteworthy also are beads of clay, coral, and glass, as well as a fragment of a glass bangle and a copper coin, the identification of which must await its restoration.

Following our first campaign of excavation in Garab-Dzong we can summarize that we succeeded in determining several periods of occupation the latest expression of which is a fortified complex dating to the first half of the 16th century. In all likelyhood this settlement was abandoned in the 19th century. Within this period of occupation different rebuilding phases can be

determined, by virtue of dendrochronology of the wooden timbers used. An older period of settlement is revealed only in the form of pits, the dating of which rests on 14C samples still under study.

In the forthcoming excavation campaign we plan to look for earlier architectural remains. We will concentrate our efforts on the upper plateau where already during the first campaign we determined areas which seem promising.

(Translation into English by Dr. P. Yule)

Notes

1. For his granting of an excavation permit, we should like to thank the Director General of HMG Department of Archaeology, Mr K.M. Shresta. He and Mr T.N. Mishra gave the project their whole-hearted support. During the course of the excavation, the Department was represented by Mr Ch.P. Tripathee. From the German side Dr. E. Pohl led the excavation. In addition the following staff participated: U. Müssemeier, M.A., A. Lennartz, E. Hoven, T. Höltken, and Dipl.-Ing. K.-G. Brager. They are heartily thanked here for their efforts.
2. Conception and first results of the research programme: see Haffner/Pohle (1993) and the reports in Ancient Nepal volumes 130-133, 1992-93; 134, 1993; 136, 1994.
3. With regard to the role of the archaeology of castles in the context of the research programme see Hüttel (1993 [1]) 1ff.
4. First results of these excavations: Hüttel (1993 [1]), idem. (1993 [2]) and Tripathee (1993).
5. Jackson (1976); idem. (1978); idem. (1984).
6. Jackson (1978) 198ff; see also Ramble/Vinding (1987) 7ff; Vinding (1988) 169ff.
7. Schuh (1992) 1.
8. Jackson (1978) 208ff. "...it would have been an important center of political power in Serib" (ibid. 208); "...it would seem that the old ruined fort south-west of Thini was once the poltical center of Se-Rib" (ibid. 210). See also Vinding (1988) 174ff.
9. Schuh (1992) 1; Vinding (1988) 174.
10. Ramble/Vinding (1987) 13ff; Vinding (1988) 174ff.
11. Ramble/Vinding (1987) 15ff.
12. With regard to the differing ways of rendering the name of the king and the resulting difficulties for the chronological sequence, see Ramble/Vinding (1987) 6; Vinding (1988) 174ff, esp. note 49; Schuh (1992) note 95.
13. Schuh (1992) 1; Vinding (1988) 174.
14. Ramble/Vinding (1987) 15.
15. The first dendrochronological investigations occurred 1992 in the research programme of Dr B. Schmidt, University of Cologne. Schmidt (1992/93).
16. Oral information B. Schmidt, Cologne.
17. Schmidt (1992/93) 31 fig. 6.
18. Oral information B. Schmidt, Cologne.

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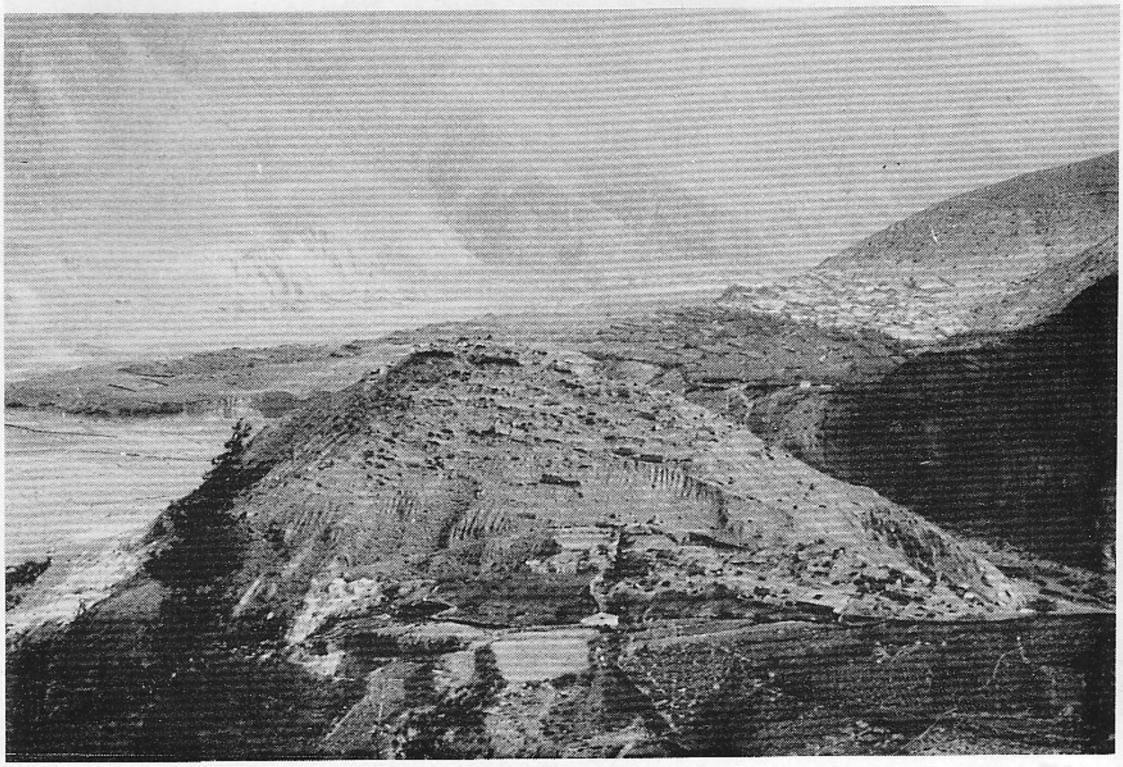

Fig.1: Garab-Dzong, Dist. Mustang - general view from south.

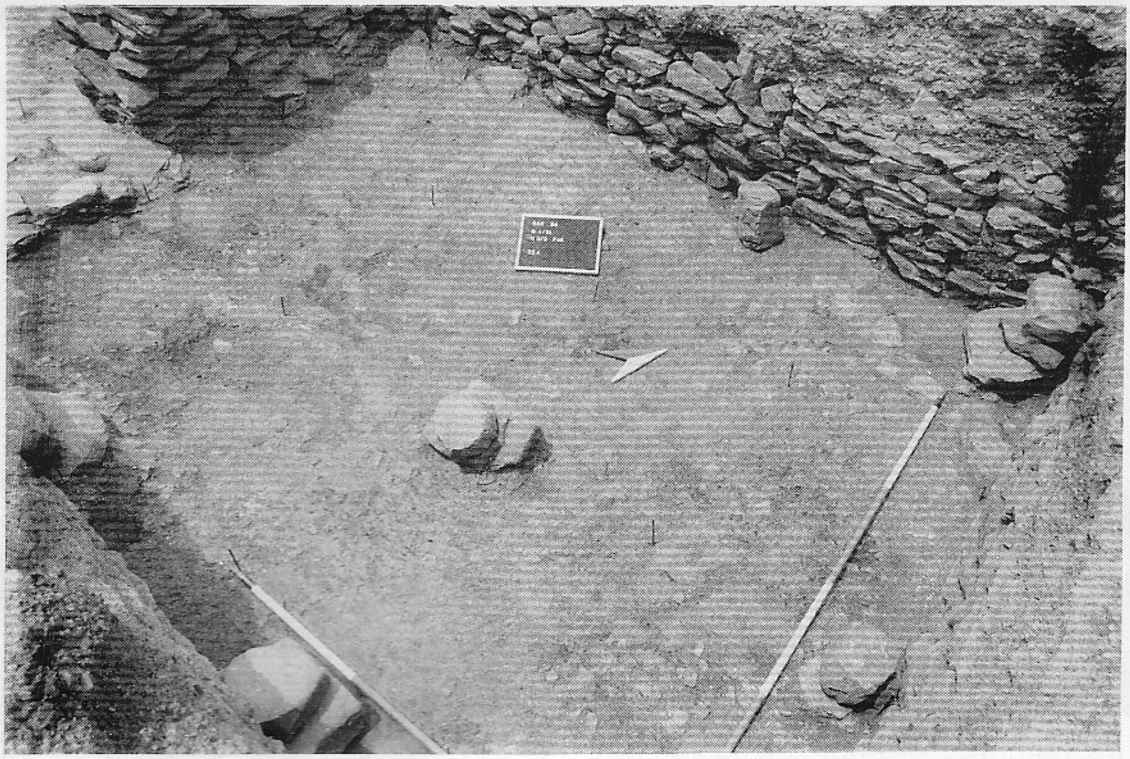

Fig.2: Garab-Dzong, H(ouse) 2/2 - tamped clay floor with post supports.

Fig.3: Garab-Dzong, Trench B I/XI - view from west into H(ouse) 2.

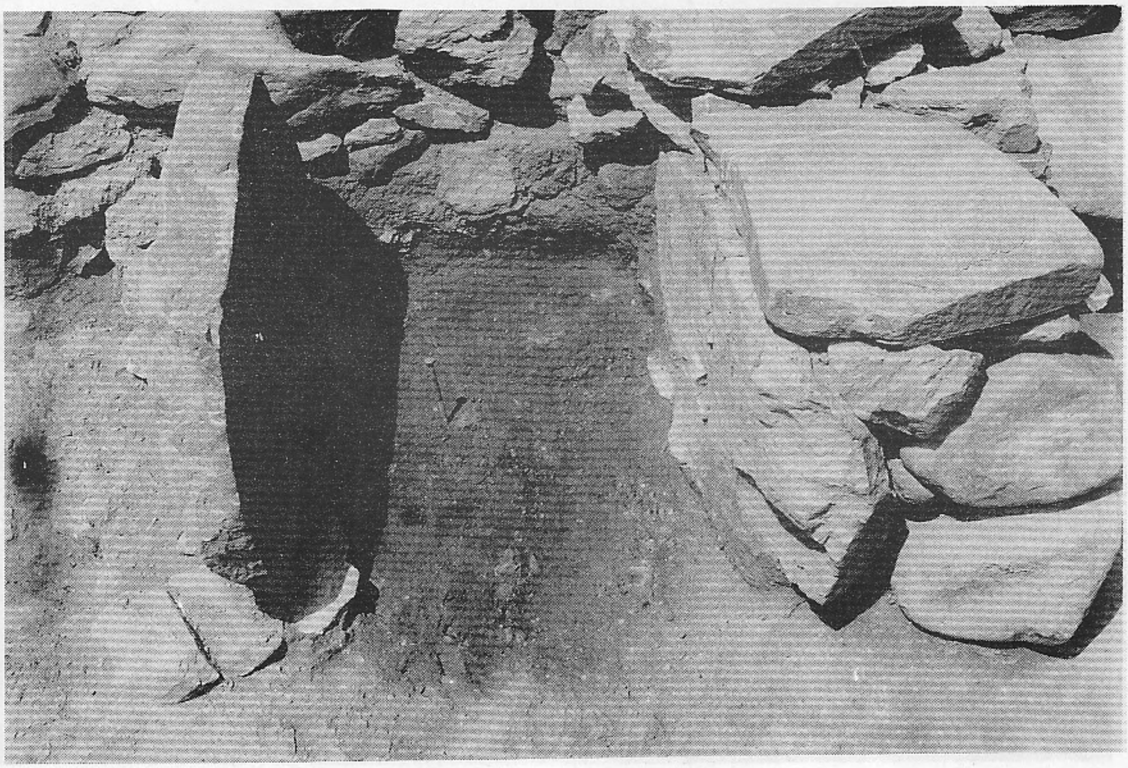

Fig.4: Garab-Dzong, H(ouse) 2/4 - fireplace.

Fig.5: Garab-Dzong, W(all) 3 from north.

Fig.6: Garab-Dzong, Trench B II/XII - pit filled with loose clay, potsherds and remains of metal working.

Dead and Living Settlements in the Shöyul of Mustang

-Charles Ramble and Christian Seeber

Introduction

The nineteen villages of Mustang district that comprise the enclave known as Baragaon are, for the most part, Tibetan-speaking. The exception to this linguistic homogeneity are the Shöyul, a group of five settlements located north of Tiri and south of Samar, whose inhabitants speak the Tibeto-Burman language known as Seke (Tib. *se-skad*). The more general cultural similarity of these communities to the people of Panchgaon and Thak, south of Baragaon, was first remarked upon by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, who aptly refers to their inhabitants as "Ur-Thakalis" (1966: 157).

It is likely that Seke was once spoken in other parts of Baragaon, too, prior to the Tibetanisation of the region. The growing evidence to support this assertion will not be discussed in detail here; we may site, as examples, the large number of Seke toponyms in and near the Muktinath Valley; and the fact that, during the seasonal propitiation of territorial gods in the village of Purang, the language in which the priest (*lha-bon*) addresses the divinities is not Tibetan but Seke. Until a generation ago this was also true in the neighbouring settlements of Dzar and Khyenga.

The following pages are an attempt to pursue the research on settlement in the Shöyul that has been begun by Simons, Schön and Shrestha, who have already identified and mapped many of the cave systems in this region (Simons, Schön and Shrestha 1994). Our aim here is primarily to provide a brief description of the abandoned and inhabited sites; and secondly, to summarise the available literary and oral accounts concerning the migrations of people into and out of this enclave.

Tibetanisation may have been the principal cause of the disappearance of Seke in the Muktinath Valley. The findings presented here will suggest that the size of the Seke-speaking enclave in northern Bararagaon may also have been reduced: not through Tibetanisation but as a result of the abandonment of settlements and the concentration of the

population in a limited number of centres.

A note of caution may be sounded here. One of the documentary sources discussed below is of real historical importance insofar as it refers to the abadonment of certain settlements as contemporary, or at least very recent, events. For the most part, however, the nature of the accounts is such that they cannot be regarded as historically authoritative. The tentative character of this material should be borne in mind, even when, in the following pages, assertions are not always prefaced by qualifying phrases of the order "it is stated that..." or "according to local informants...".

Settlement names

The five Seke-speaking villages are collectively referred to as the Shöyul (Tib. Shod-yul). The meaning of this name is somewhat ambiguous. With reference to land, *shod* signifies a low-lying area, and this is how the name generally appears to be understood in the present case: while the five Shöyul stand at a higher elevation than the settlements immediately to the south on the Kali Gandaki (namely Tiri and Kag), they are lower than the other surrounding villages (Samar to the north, Sangdak to the west and the communtities of the upper Muktinath Valley to the south-east). However, a few informants outside the enclave have also suggested that the word *shod* is a reference to the relatively low status of the five villages in the social hierarchy of Baragaon. This interpretation is partly justified by the fact that the villages of Phelag and Khyenga are also, in spite of their relatively high elevation, sometimes referred to as *shod*.

However, since Tibetan documents from the five villages show that they systematically refer to themselves as "the Five Shöyul" in correspondence with neighbouring areas, we shall also refer to the area as Shöyul, and to the people as Shöpa, on the grounds that, as far as the people themselves are concerned, the names carry no pejorative overtones.

A few words may also be said here concerning the names of the settlements in and around the Shöyul. There is a certain amount of confustion owing to the fact that the names differ in Nepali, Tibetan and Seke. As a general rule, we shall use anglicised forms of the Tibetan name. The choice of this language is somewhat arbitrary, since the selection has been made for no better reason that the fact that our field research has been conducted throught the medium of Tibetan. The following represents a comparison of the different names of the main settlements with which we are concerned.

Nepali	**Seke**	**Tibetan**
Tangbe	Tangbe	Taye
Chusang	Tshugsang	Tshug
Tetang	Timi	Te
Chaile	Tsangle	Tsele
Ghyaka	Gyu/Gyuga	Gyaga
Jhong	Muga	Dzong

Finally, it is worth noting that that advent of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in northern Mustang has incidentally enriched the local toponymy still further. Visitors to the area will have noticed the trilingual green signboards - Nepali, English and Tibetan - that stand at the entrances to the villages. In a number of cases, the Tibetan script represents not the usual Tibetan appellation of the locality but a Tibetanised version of the Nepali name. To cite just one example, the name Tshug (Nep. Chusang) is generally given in Tibetan documents as Tshug, and myths concerning the foundation of the settlement

relate the name to homonymous expressions such as **tshug**, meaning mustard, or *'tshugs-pa*, "to settle". In reproducing the Nepali "Chusang", the ACAP Tibetan version has unwittingly created a new myth by opting for a similarly-pronounced *phyugs-bzang*, which would mean something like "excellent cattle".

Geographical scope

Although we are dealing primarily with the five Shöyul, the alleged migration patterns of the inhabitants are such that we are obliged to take into consideration a number of locations situated some distance from the enclave. The order in which the various inhabited and abandoned sites are dealt with is not a straightforward matter, since a number of abandoned places now constitute "islands" of territory belonging to villages that may lie a considerable distance away. To simplify matters, therefore, the rather complex question of territorial associaton will be discussed only after an overall picture of populated and abandoned settlements associated with the Shöyul has been presented.

The territory of Taye

The southern limit of the territory of the Shöyul begins at Gyalung/Gyagalung (both these forms of the name were given by our informants), a western tributary of the Kali Gandaki a short distance to the north of Tiri. On the southern side of this valley there is said to be an abandoned site known as Gyathang, although the location was not visited by the present authors. As in the case of many narratives within the region, the abandonment of the place is atttributed to the failure of the irrigation system. In order to increase the productivity of their fields and the abundance of their livestock, the story goes, the community of Gyathang began by making periodical sacrifices of chickens to their territorial gods. The success of this measure encouraged them to make more substantial offerings of goats, with similarly encouraging results. They then increased the value of their offering by sacrificing a yak. Since the prosperity of the village increased proportionately to the size of the offering, the community finally undertook to sacrifice a horse. The result was catastrophic: the wooden aqueducts to the fields collapsed, the reservoir dried up and the people were forced to leave. A part of the community, it is said, went to settle in Sangdag, on the way to Dolpo. (It may be worth noting that although this village is Tibetan-speaking, it is sometimes referred to as a Shöyul, the implication being that it was once populated by Seke-speakers.) The rest of the community is said to have settled in an extensive area of caves on the east bank of the Kali Gandaki where it is joined by the Gyalung River.

The area of caves is known as Gyagalung in Tibetan and Gyagagyung in Seke. To the north of the caves is an area of abandoned fields said once to have been cultivated by the community. The water for Gyagalung was the stream of the Dröyong Lungba (called Gayang Gyung in Seke), which is also the only source of irrigation water for nearby Tangbe. When, over the course of time, the quantity of water in the stream diminished so that there was inadequate surplus from Tangbe, Gyagalung and its fields were abandoned. The community occupied the area of caves above Tshognam (see below) for a certain period before moving up to Gyaga. The name Gyaga is said to be derived from the names of the places previously inhabited by the people, that is to say, Gyathang and Gyagalung. As we have seen earlier, the Seke name of Gyaga is Gyu or Gyuga.

North of Gyagalung, on the west bank of the Kali Gandaki, is an area of caves called

Khyungpegyung, a Seke name meaning "the valley of the Khyungpo". Khyungpo (Tib. Khyung-po) here may refer to an important clan that will be discussed further below. The caves are said to have contained a temple, called Gompabrag in Seke and Gompadrag (dGon-pa-brag) in Tibetan (both names mean "Temple Crag"), and a community of tantric lamas (*sngags-pa*). The name of the area above the caves, Shabtithang, is said to be derived from the customary use of the site for drying the vast quantities of lees from the beer produced by the lamas (Seke *shabti*: "beer lees"; Seke and Tib. *thang*: "plateau, flat area").

Taye

Taye itself (the name is usually spelt Tang-yos, gTang-yos etc. in local documents) is a village of thirty-one estates (*grong-pa*) and six subsidiary households (*pho-rang mo-rang*), three of which are landless. Perhaps more than any of the five Shöyul, Taye's population has been reduced in recent years by permanent or long-term outmigration of the younger people. The present village lies between two apparently older abandoned settlements. No particular names for these were obtained. The local people to whom we spoke referred to them simply as Dzong-gog, "ruined fortresses".

The remains of a ring-wall surrounding the ruins above the village suggest that this was a defensive settlement. It is located on a promontory with a good view over the main valley and the principal trade routes to south and north. At the foot of the hill, between the houses, are a few, apparently very old, apricot trees. Apricot trees are normally located on field margins, indicating that the area on which the present settlement is built may once have been occupied by cultivated land.

On the eastern side of the village is a disused nunnery, still containing books and images that have been effectively abandoned to the elements. The collected documents of Taye, including a historical "register" (*dkar-chag*) of its present temple, have recently been photographed. It is hoped that an examination of their contents will yield further information concerning this nunnery and, perhaps, the abandoned settlements.

There are certain grounds for supposing that Taye may once have been abandoned before being resettled, as in the case of other villages that will be discussed below. The Tayepas are said - both by themselves and their neighbours - to be relatively recent immigrants from Manang. The Seke name of Taye, Tangbe, is explicitly linked to an abandoned village in Manang, where the group's ancestors are said to have lived. According to Nareshwor Jang Gurung, the ruins of the original village, called Tangbache, are situated half a kilometer west of Braga in Manang. He gives the following account of the inhabitants' displacement:

> In Tangbache a group of people called the Tangdathe [*sic*: presumably for Tangbathe?] had lived.... The Gurungs moved out of this valley to the northern parts of Lamjung when the settlements of the Nyesyangba increased in this valley, but the people of Tangbeche [*sic*] were driven away by the Nyesyangba.... The people of Tangbache migrated to Tangbe of Mustang from this valley (Gurung 1977: 9).

And later:

> According to Manang villagers [the people of Tangbache] were the first settlers of Nyesyang valley. They probably migrated to this valley from Tibet.... The other

> villagers were exploited by them.... Finally, they were driven away from their village by all the people of the surrounding villages. They fled to Baragau Mustang from their village and settled in a place called Tangbe.... There are ruins of houses of the ancestors of Tangdathe [*sic*] of Tangbache in Phraka [i.e. Braga] village. Some old individuals of Manang village said that they probably were driven away from this valley earlier than three or four hundred years ago (*ibid.* : 108-9).

One of the documents which we photographed in Tangbe was the text of an invocation to the territorial gods of the community performed annually by the village priest (*lha-bon*). A brief examination of this work - representing a mixture of Tibetan and Seke - reveals a preoccupation with place-gods east of the Thorang La, in Manang's territory, that we have not encountered in similar recitations from other Baragaon villages. Another feature of Taye worth noting in this context is the diminutive size of its territory by comparison with that of the other Shöyul, especially Te and Tshug. The small area of pastureland is especially surprising in view of the earlier grandeur suggested by the ruins. Although we have not found any documentary evidence to support the suggestion, it is possible that Taye may once have been abandoned and, as in the case of other old settlments that will be examined below, its territory occupied by its neighbours, who may then have ceded a part of it to accommodate new settlers from Manang.

Tshug

About an hour's walk north of Taye, at the junction of the Narshing Chu and the Kali Gandaki, is the village of Tshug. The village, comprising a total of more than sixty estates, consists of three distinct units: north of the Narshing Khola is Tangma; to the south of it is Braga, and west of Braga, towards the Kali Gandaki, is Cikyab. These locations are referred to by Tibetan-speakers resepectively as Kyangma, Dragkar and Tsekyab.[1] The community is further divided into four sectors (*tsho*), corresponding to the three main settlement areas, with Kyangma being divided into two parts, Jowo Shartsen Gyalpo (Jo-bo Shar-btsan rgyal-po) and Jowo Lhaptsen (Jo-bo Lha-btsan). The names signify clan gods (respectively of the Khangtö and Rele clans: see below), who are now also territorial divinities. For certain administrative purposes, the community is divided more simply into two moieties, Kyangma on the one hand and Braga/ Cikyab on the other. This is apparent in the case of recruitment of village officials. Of the two anually-serving headmen (*rgan-pa*), one is recruited from Kyangma and the other from Braga/Cikyab. In addition to the two headmen there are also six anually-serving constables (Tib. *rol-po*; Seke *tshowa* < Tib. *tsho-ba/ tshogs-pa*). The recruitment of headmen within each moiety alternates annually between the two sectors of which it is composed. The sector that provides the headman in each moiety furnishes only one constable, while the remaining two must choose two each. The actual procedure for selectinng headmen is a complex matter that will be discussed elsewhere.

The population of Tshug consists of eight named clans. In addition to these there are several houses of nameless "low-caste" (*mendrik*; Tib. *smad-rigs*) households and one family of outcaste Tailors (Duli; Nep. Damai).

A few words may be said about the named clans and their supposed provenance.

1. The oldest clan in the village is the Khangtö Gyupa (Tib. Khang-stod brgyud-pa), which takes its name from the house in Kyangma, the "Upper House" (Tib. Khang-stod), where the clan is believed originally to have lived. The Khangtö are regarded as identical with the Khyungpo clan of nearby Te, and further information about their migration history will be given below. There are now three households of the clan in Tshug.

2. Kag Pönpe Gyupa (bKag dpon-po'i brgyud-pa), the Clan of the Kag Noble. The ancestor of this clan is said to have migrated from Old Kag (Kag Nyingba), and settled in Tshug. In accordance with local conventions of kinship and hierarchy, since the clan has married with commoners for more than three consecutive generations it is no longer regarded as being of noble status. The interesting (but at present unverifiable) implication of this account is that nobility, presumably Tibetan-speaking migrants from northern Mustang, were once resident in Old Kag.

There is only one household of this clan in Tshug.

3. Kyuden Gyupa: Kyuden is an abandoned settlement between Tsele and Samar from which the clan migrated. Historical evidence in support of this claim will be discussed below.

4. Tsumpag Gyupa: this clan came from the old village of Tshumpag, on the western side of the Kali Gandaki opposite Tshug. The location is discussed further below.

5. Khyarku Gyupa: Khyarku is the name of an abandoned site near Tshumpag (see below).

6. Nyeshang Braga Gyupa: like Tangbe, Braga is reported to have been founded by migrants from Manang who gave the name of their original home to the new settlement. Braga is a large village a short distance south of the main town of Manang. In this case, the Braga clan are said to be descended from a family who fled their home to escape reprisals for a murder that they had committed there, bringing with them their clan god. The god in question is housed in a small temple, called sMan-rtsi lha-khang, that is the common property of the six households of the Braga clan (three of which are located in Braga itself and three in Cikyab). The temple itself is a mud-brick building inside a cave a short distance up the Narshing Chu. A gap between the temple and the cave wall permits circumambulation of the construction. The temple walls are decorated with paintings of saints and buddhas, and clay images include figures of Avalokitesvara and the five *kulesa*. The clan god itself is a stone hexahedron about 75 cm high with a surface of perhaps 30 cm^2, covered in oil and topped with a few smaller stones.[2] The six households take it in turns, one month at a time, to make daily offerings in the temple. (Interestingly, contrary to the usual practice of offering water (*yon-chab*) in the morning and lighting a lamp (*mchod-me*) in the evening, the clan has contracted the two rituals into a single occasion, performed in the mid-afternoon.)

7. Rele Gyupa: Rele is an abandoned village a short distance from Tshug, on the west bank of the Kali Gandaki (see below). The clan is also represented in Dolpo.

8. Tamshel Lame Gyupa (the Priestly Clan of Tamshel): the clan is said to have come from

Tamshel, an abandoned settlement north of Samar (see below).

In some cases, the clan affiliation of houses in Tshug can be told from their external apparance. Thus the Rele clan may use no colours at all, other than plain whitewash, on the outside of their house walls; the Khangtö houses (but not the Khyugpo houses of Te) are distinguished by their red and blue (or black) stripes on a white background, while the Tamshel Lama clan paints its houses with red stripes.

Concerning the origins of the Khangtö Gyupa, there is an intriguing story, related by one of the senior members of the clan, that is worth summarising here. Jowo Shartsen Gyalpo, also known as Shartsenpa, is the god of the Khyungpo clan, and is worshipped in the main settlements where the clan is represented (namely Tshug, Te and Tangya; the single representative of the clan in Gyaga actually described himself as a member of the "Shartsenpa Gyupa"). In Tshug, even though Shartsenpa is also a territorial divinity, rituals to him may be performed only by members of the Khangtö (i.e. the Tshug branch of the Khyungpo) clan. Traditionally, in the fourth month, Shartsenpa would receive a blood-offering of a white sheep, in accordance with the practice of animal sacrifice that was customary through most of Mustang. When, in response to moral pressure by the celebrated Shangba Lama three or four decades ago, the custom was largely abandoned in Baragaon, Tshug (unlike Te and Samar) adhered to the letter of its promise not to sacrifice animals *within* the village. Nevertheless, without violating this promise, the Khangtö clan has managed to perpetuate the tradition of blood offerings to its divinities. Periodically, members of the clan make a trip to the vicinity of Takam and Dharapani, primarily Magar settlements located some three days' walk south of Tshug on the way to Dhorpatan. Growing here are three old juniper trees, which are regarded by the clan as representations of Shartsenpa and his two accompanying divinities, and blood sacrifices are performed to them. A certain amount of discretion, not to say secrecy, seems to surround this cult, and detailed information about it has not been obtained. However, the reason given for this distant choice of location is interesting: the Khangtö clan claim to have resided in the Takam-Dharapani area for an unspecified period during their migration from the west. No further information on this migration route was obtained, and the story itself was not confirmed. As we shall see presently, the Khangtö clan also claim to have come to Tshug from Kog, a day's walk to the north-east, and it is therefore unclear whether the full version of the obsolete account was an *alternative* to the latter, in accordance with the fashion for a western provenance that once prevailed in much of the area, or whether it took the clan via both Takam-Dharapani *and* Kog before bringing it to Tshug. It is worth noting that the Takam-Dharapani area is the scene of an annual festival, attended by large numbers of people from the middle hills, that features many animal sacrifices. It may be that the Tshugpas' worship of Shartsenpa takes place within the context of this festival.

Directly opposite Tshug, in the high cliffs on the west side of the Kali Gandaki, is an extensive area of caves called Thagshing Grangma. *Thagshing* (< Tib. *'thag-shing*) and *grangma* are Seke terms for certain wooden components of backstrap looms. The name derives from the fact that these items were once visible in the caves. To the south of these is a raised area on which there stands an abandoned nunnery. The area, and the temple

itself, are called Gompa Gang (dGon-pa-sgang), the "Convent Ridge".[3] A sizeable collection documents relating to this nunnery, contained in a private house in Tshug, was photographed in April 1995. It is hoped that these documents will provide some insights into the history and operation of this institution. The main hall of the temple contains twenty pillars, one of which is said to stand on top of two goat-loads of gold concealed there by the founder, with the intention that it should be used for restoration when the structure fell into disrepair. The fine murals are now badly damaged by leaking rainwater, and a few years ago the main image of Maitreya was broken open by thieves. It is not known what, if anything, was taken from the interior.

Immediately to the south of the nunnery is a stream, the Tshumpag Chu, which runs from the west and flows into the Kali Gandaki. On the southern corner of the confluence are the remnants of a settlement, identifiable by its abandoned fields. The name of this area is Rele, the original habitation of the Rele clan of Tshug. A short distance upstream, in the cliffs on the northern side of the Tsumbag Chu, is an area of caves called Dabrang-dzang (Seke *dabrang*: "raven"; *dzang*: "nest"), a name which is extended to the general area of the valley in front of the caves. Some of the caves are quite easily accessible, and it is also possible to see in the cliff face eroded tunnels, extending from a single entrance at the valley floor and giving access to extensive galleries located higher up the cliff face. The trail follows the valley through a stretch, called Muna, where the valley walls close to form a deep gorge, and less than an hour and a half from the Kali Gandaki, reaches the ruins of Tshalthang gompa. The gompa is situated in the cliffs at the top of a scree slope on the northern side of the Tshumpag Chu. The building is in ruins, but there is evidence that some of the cave rooms have been used in relatively recent times as meditation retreats. Other rooms have apparently been restored to accommodate local goatherds. None of our informants was able to recall the temple functioning as an institution during his lifetime. A document from Tshognam refers to a certain "Tshering Dorje, the great meditator (*sgrub-chen*) of Tshalthang temple", who made a donation of 1*tam* towards a funeral ceremony for a dead woman of Te in a Fire Pig year. The names of Tshognam lamas that occur in this document were unrecognisable as ancestors to the present priests, and it is therefore likely that the year in question is earlier than 1887. 1827 would be the latest likely date. For the present, then, there is no firm documentary evidence to indicate that Tshalthang gompa was a functioning institution later than the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the valley floor below the gompa, and somewhat upstream, are three stupas and a number of goat pens. The abundance of juniper growing at this point confirms the assertion that trees are not cut in the vicinity of the gompa. There is apparently no law expressly forbidding collection; protection is effectively ensured by a conviction that the removal of any natural resources from the area will provoke divine reprisals. There is in fact evidence that a number of trees have been cut; this violation is attributed to the Khambas, who maintained a military base nearby until the 1970s.

Half an hour after the stupas, the trail ascends the high southern bank of the Tshumpag Chu, following a well-made zig-zag horse track, and reaches the plateau after a further twenty minutes. This is the site of the old settlement of Tshumbag. The site is now occupied by a large area of recently-built, but now empty and decaying, houses: the old Khamba camp. Occupying one of the houses

is an elderly Khamba and his family, to whom Tshug has given official permission to farm some of the old fields free of rent in exchange for protecting the trees and shrubs against wood-poachers from Taye. Signs of earlier settlement are sparse. In the southern cliffs up the valley from the horse trail is an area of caves, also called Tshumbag, and at the southern end of the plateau, on a slope called variously and Brag Olo (Seke "Red Crag") Brag Maru (a hybrid name: Maru is the Tibetan term *(dmar-po)* for "red"), is a single derelict building. The elderly Khamba maintained that the ruin was a gompa rather than a watchtower. The site does afford a view of Tshug and Te, but the intervening distance may be too great for any form of signalling to have been effective.

An extensive area of fields, some of which were farmed by the recent Khamba residents, stretches eastwards down the slope of the plateau.

A visitor standing at the northern edge of the plateau and looking across the Tshumbag Valley is presented with some dramatic examples of traditional natural resource management. On the plateau opposite, north of the valley, is a ruined settlement and an area of abandoned fields. This is the old village of Khyarku, which gave its name to the clan that now inhabits Tshug itself. In the cliff-face just downstream of Tshalthang gompa, and on the same level as the ruined building, is a horizontal passage resembling a cliff trail, that emerges a few hundred metres further down onto the Khyarku plateau. East of Tshalthang gompa it is possible to make out traces of this passage, extending upstream in the cliff face until it touches the valley floor above the stupas, at a juction reinforced with stone walling. This is in fact not a trail but an old irrigation canal, cut out of the cliff, to serve the lower fields of Khyarku. Now some distance further upstream it is possible to see what appear to be two parallel rows of caves. These almost certainly trace the route of two other irrigation canals that would once have fed the upper cultivated area of Khyarku. The irrigation canals in this case are tunnels inside the cliff, parallel to the valley, and the "caves" are actually holes through which the accumulated sediment would have been thrown out from the inside during the annual or biannual clearances of the watercourse. Although it was not possible to examine the holes closely the likelihood that they are part of an old irrigation system is greatly increased by the existence of such an underground canal - in fact, a series of tunnels - in Taye at the present time. This remarkable system, consisting of a series of six tunnels (one of which takes some forty-five minutes to crawl through) linked by aqueducts and canals, was explored by the authors of the present article, and will be described in a future publication.

Tshognam

East of Tshug, some twenty minutes' walk up the Narshing Chu, on the northern bank of the river, lies the little settlement of Tshognam. The community compries just three households: Tshognam Og *('og)*, Tshognam Barma *(bar-ma)* and Tshognam Nyama *(nya-ma)* - Lower, Middle and Upper Tshognam. The community is not an independent entity to the extent that it has no land of its own. Lower and Middle Tshognam stand on Tshug's terrtory, and upper Tshognam on Te's. The territorial boundary is marked by a thowo *(mtho-bo)*, two stones piled on top of a large rock in the bed of the Narshing Chu. In the cliff behind Tshognam is the set of caves, called Tshognam Dragphu *(brag-phug)*, the "Cliff-caves of Tshognam", that has been referred to above. Mention has already been made of the belief that these caves, which lie in Tshug's territory, were

once inhabited by the population of Gyaga. In more recent times, one of the larger, more accessible caves was converted into a tavern (*chang-ma*) run by Tshugpas for Khamba customers.

The family inhabiting Upper Tshognam have served for several generations as the priests of Te. The priests in question are married Nyingmapa lamas of the Shari Pöngyuta clan. The clan is said to have originated in Surkhang/Zurgang (Zur-sgang: "the Ridge at the Edge"), a small village of just three houses on the eastern side of the Kali Gandaki, opposite Dri. The first part of the clan name derives from the fact that this entire eastern region (consisting of the villages of Zurgang, Yara, Gara, De, Tangya and Dri, the last being in fact on the western side of the river) is known as Shari (spelt in a variety of ways: Sha-ri, Shar-ri, Shwa-ba-ri etc.). The second part of the name (*dpon-brgyud-pa*) simply signifies "noble lineage". One branch of the family is said to have prospered in Tibet as the noble Pön Lugukar clan. The ruins of what is believed to be the old family house stand on a low ridge a short distance to the west of the present village. The house is called Zurgang Gang-ga (possibly < *sgang-khang*, the "House on the Ridge"?), and its associated divinity, Meme Gang Tshebten (Mes-mes sGang Tshe-brtan?) is worshipped annually at a nearby cairn.

Middle Tshognam is now occupied by a Tepa family, who purchased the house from its previous, Chongkhor-born, owners. The inhabitants of Lower Tshognam are referred to as Drenjong Gyalpe Gyupa ('Bras-ljongs rgyal-po'i brgyud-pa), the Clan of the Kings of Sikkim. The documents that have been photographed in the house shed little light on the implications of this name. The lineage was preceded here by the priestly Lama Domari clan, with patrons in Tshug, who maintained a long-running enmity, marked by spell-casting and magical battles, with the lamas of Upper Tshognam.

The inhabitants of Upper and Lower Tshognam are Tibetan-speakers, who speak Seke only as a second language.

Te

Te consists of forty-eight households (several of which are subdivided estates) distributed through two main settlement areas: Dzong (a fortified settlement with only two entrances) and Yul (lit. "Village"). Yul itself is divided into a number of smaller areas: Yangba Cangba, Yangba Thewa (*cangba* and *thewa* mean respectively "lesser" and "greater"), Sumdu, Madang and Töpa.

There are five main clans: Khyungpo, Yangba, Paten, Butra and Cimden. In addition to these five there is one clan descended from the illegitimate son of a Tepa woman and a nobleman of the Kyukar house in Purang, in the Muktinath Valley. The clan is now represented exclusively by female descedants and is therefore due to be extinguished in the next generation. (In the complex hierarchical system of Te this clan is actually regarded as being of low status.)

The origins of the main clans are summarised in an undated document photographed in Te in 1993. The author explains the background to his work as follows:

> gTer yul thun mong nas skul bzhing / dbon po ngag dbang chos 'phel kyis skyid sdug 'byung mtshul sogs sdo tsam mdzod pa dge /[4]
>
> At the insistence of the ordinary people of Te, Önpo Ngawang Chömphel has set down in brief the manner in which the

community came into being, and other such things.

As the writer implies, the work is effectively a brief compilation of various oral accounts. Since many of the details contained in the latter are not relevant to the present article they will be largely disregarded here, and a translation of the relevant passage in the written summary will suffice.

Text[5]

7. chags rab dor 'dus su rjod na / kog bya pa'i yul 'dir / khyung po brgyud-dang / yang ba brgyud-dang /
8. spar brten brgyud pa bcas brgyud pa gsum du dus skyang / lce stong dgon-nas dbon po bla ma bhi byu
9. yab sras bcas kog du sbyon-as dbon po brgyud bcas brgyud pa bzhi rdzoms du gnas bzhing /
10. sa cha rid-phu / phu ser bogs / gser la / la gsum mtshun dang / ta so la mtshun gyis ri rgya dang
11. rlung rgya spyod bzhin lha bde mi bde 'di skyd phun gsum tshogs par lo mang song dug byes /
12. bla-ma mkhyen-no / bla ma mkhyen-no / nor sags pa'i mtha' ma mdzad pa mthong / bu skyes mtha'
13. ma 'chi ba mthong / mkhar tsig pa'i mtha' ma gyel pa mthong / 'dus byas rmi tag
14. mthong nas bsam glo kyo /bde yang gro zhon zla pa'i tshe bcu dgu'i nyin / blo bur du
15. char rgod drag po zhin tsan thabs-su 'byung nas / yur mgor sho rag chen po ' byung nas /
16. lo shas bar du bka' las byas kyang yur mgo ma tshugs par thar / mtha' khyar gro gos 'byung bzhing /
17. yul phyed snar phyogs song zhing / yul phyed ted phyogs la yong pa yin / ted gyi yul du / na 'u
18. rdzong nas dgon drug lcang gi gtson ci ldan brgyud pa chags dug / dar rgyas tshe ring gis gtsos
19. khyung po brgyud pa dang zla ba chos 'phel bcas dbon po brgyud pa rnams chags dug / yang ba brgyud pa
20. dang spar brten brgyud pa gnyis / 'a ga ru lo shas sdad nas slad du gter yul du chags dug / smu ga
21. yul phyogs nas skyang bu spra brgyud pa mtshur yong gter du chags dug / na'u mrdzong dang khyung po brgyud gnyis
22. sngon la chags pas / gter yul khyung mrdzong dkar po yul ming zu grags so / yul 'di yi ri
23. tsham ni / dbro ya la / gang zhur po / rta phag la / mu ya'i la / phud tshang gang mtshun gter
24. pa'i ri tsham yin /

Translation

A brief account of the origins [of Te]. In the community called Kog there were three clans together: the Khyungpo clan, the Yangba clan and the Paten clan. The Önpo Lama Biju of Cetong temple came to Kog with his sons, so that, with the Önpo clan, there were altogether four clans living there. They made their terrtory the extensive hills and valleys on the near side of Ribu, Phuserbog and the Serla Pass - those three passes - and on the near side of the Tasola Pass. The gods and the people

were glad. But after many year of blessed happiness had gone by - the lama knows! - the end of the wealth they had amassed came: they watched it disappear; the end of the sons who had been born to them came: they watched them die; the end of the castle they had built came: they watched it fall. And seeing the impermanence that marks the passage of time they grieved.

For on the nineteenth day of a Gro-zhon month, all of a sudden there came a violent torrential rainstorm, causing severe damage to the head of the irrigation canal. In spite of their efforts over the course of several years they were unable to restore the head of the canal, and in the end they had to leave. Half the community went to Nar, and half came to Te.

In the commuity of Te there settled (*chags*: lit. originated) the Cimden clan, led by Göndrugcang, from Naudzong; the Khyungpo clan led by Dargye Tshering, and the Önpo clan, led (*bcas* for *gtsos*) by Dawa Chömphel. After spending a few years in A, the Yangba and Paten clans subsequently settled in Te. The Butra clan came here from the vicinity of Muga and settled in Te. Because Naudzong and the Khyungpo clan had originated (*chags*) first, the village was named Teyul Khyungdzong Karpo (gTer yul khyung rdzong dkar po): the Treasure Community, the White Garuda-Fortress.

The territorial boundaries[6] of this community are as follows: the Roya La Pass; Gang Shuru; the Tawag La Pass; the Muya La Pass; and Phutshang Gang - the land that lies within these boudaries belongs to Te.

The document continues with a description of the surrounding hillsides in terms of conventional Buddhist imagery, a list of the sacred sites of Te and a note on its main annual festival.

A few explanatory remarks may be made concerning some of the names in this extract. First, the Önpo clan. The term *önpo* (*dbon-po*) signifies a type of astrologer-priest, generally belonging to the Nyingmapa school: thus the hereditary priests of Chongkhor, near Muktinath, are usually referred to as *dbon-po.* In the present case the word obviously denotes a particular lineage, descended from a certain Biju Lama.[7] This lama is now popularly believed to have visited Te in person, and a number of stories in Te recount his religious and magical activities there. The content of this document, however, effectively scotches the historicity of this notion. We have not yet been able to identify the Cetong Gompa where the early members of the clan are said to have lived. However, in a remote corner about two hours' walk to the south-east of Tangya is a ruined building, known simply as Gompa Gang ("Temple Ridge"), where the people of Tangya claim that a certain Biju Lama - presumably the same - once lived and engaged in battles of magical bombs (*mthu*) with a magus dwelling in the caves of their own cliffs. The Önpo clan in Te is now extinct. Unlike the Shari Pöngyuta priests, the Önpo are said to have intermarried with the other Te clans and to have lived within Te itself. The old Önpo house is situated in the ruined section of Dzong.

As the narrative suggests, the village of Kog has a place of some importance in the origin stories of the Tepas, since it was the original home of the three most prestigious clans.[8] The ruins of this settlement are situated a day's walk north-east

of Te at the foot of Gang Shuru, a snow mountain on the border of Mustang and Tibet. We were unable to visit Kog because of heavy snow, but there are said to be extensive ruins and caves. The importance of Kog is also implied by the particular attention given to the gods of Gang Shuru in the libation ritual (*gser-skyems*) for Te's territorial divinities that is performed by the lamas of Tshogam.

As a general rule, the territory of an abandoned settlement remains the property of the emigrants, and becomes part of the land of whichever village subsequently becomes their home. As we have seen, one of the three clans inhabiting Kog was the Khyungpo, and the people of Tshug claim that they, too, should have a share in the surrounding pastureland on the grounds that the Khangtö clan, a branch of the Khyungpo, also came from Kog. The Tepas have not yet given serious consideration to these claims.

The Cimden clan of Te, according to this account, originally came from Naudzong. This old settlement is situated on a sandstone spur about two hours' walk uphill to the east of Te, a short distance below the main trade route from Muktinath to Tibet via Tangya. Sections of rammed-earth wall are still standing, and the presence of a ring-wall indicates that it was a defensive settlement. The site affords a clear view down to the castle ruin above Tshug and to the abandoned village of A in the north.

The large number of abandoned fields surrounding Naudzong suggests that the settlement may once have contained a sizeable population. A large, apparently natural cave at the base of the low cliff west of Naudzong provides shelter for several hundred Tepa goats and their herders.

The abandoned village of A is located approximately an hour's walk north of Naudzong on the way to Tangya. (It may be noted that there is another old settlement called A in the Muktinath Valley, above the village of Putra.) The authors of the present article have seen the settlement and its fields to the east of the trail during the course of a fieldtrip made in 1992, but a more recent attempt to reach the site itself was foiled by deep snow. The etymology of the name A is open to speculation. The local pronunciation of the word might suggest a Tibetan orthography *wa*, a term signifying a wooden aqueduct. In the Seke dialect of Te, however, the word for aqueduct is *ku*. Furthermore, the fact that the author of the document spells the name 'A-ga suggests that he, at least, did not have this Tibetan derivation in mind.

The brief note in the document concerning the origin of the Butra clan apparently summarises a more elaborate version. We are told that the clan migrated to Te "from the vicinity of Muga". Now Muga is the Seke name of the settlement of Dzong on the northern side of the Muktinath Valley.[9] Thus the Dzong La, the Tibetan name of the pass from the upper Muktinath Valley north into the territory of Te, is called the Muya (pleonastically Tibetanised in the text as Mu-ya-la,[10] the southern boundary of Te) in Seke. A well-known story in Baragaon has it that the original settlement of Butra was located on a hillside just to the west of present-day Putra, but that it was destroyed when the entire promontory on which it was built broke off and slid, upside-down, to the bottom of the valley. The site of the buried village may be identified by a recent plantation of willows and poplars on the northern bank of the Dzong Chu just west of Putra. An earlier group of migrants from Butra, it is said, crossed north of the Muya Pass and established a new settlement. We did in fact find the ruins of a large, apparently fortified, settlement in this area, standing amid old

field terraces to the east of the trail from Te to Dzong on the northern side of the pass. Our informants were unaware of any name for the settlement itself, but everyone to whom we spoke identifed it as the home of the Te Butra clan. The area in general is known simply as Chumig Gung (Chumig-gung), the Middle Spring.

Whatever the case, it is clear that the settlement occupies a strategic position at an important crossroads. Just to the west of it there passes the route from the Shöyul to the Muktinath Valley; and a few hundred metres to the east, meeting the latter trail at the Muya Pass, is the main north-south trade route to Tangya over the Tiu La. Another trail, descending from the Muya Pass and skirting around to the west and north of the ruins crosses the Dröyong Lungba to Tshethang and ascends to join the eastern trail below the Tiu La. Dröyong Lungba is the name of this stretch of the stream that provides Taye with its sole source of water (see above). Further down, it also constitutes the boundary between Taye and Te. Tshethang (Tshe-thang: "*Ephedra* Plateau") is the site of a long-term encampment of three tents, inhabited by a family of refugee nomads from Khartang in Tibet. Near this junction are the ruins of a single stone house amid abandoned fields. This location, called Oldog Kamsa (*Oldog* skam-sa: "the Place for Drying Turnips")[11], is a staging post on the north-south route where traders from the Muktinath Valley customarily spend the night before travelling on up to Tangya the following day. The house itself is said once to have been inhabited by Tsabgyepa Lama before the village of Purang, in the Muktinath Valley, gave his sons the area of land on which the priestly community of Chongkhor was subsequently founded.[12] Oldog Kamsa incidentally features as one of the sacred sites invoked by the village priest (*lha-bon*) of Purang in his annual libation (*gser-skyems*) to the territorial gods of the region.

The spelling of Te as gTer, meaning "treasure", that appears in line 22 of the extract, occurs in a number of other documents from Baragaon. The name Khyungdzong Karpo, too, appears in certain local texts as well as in a eulogy of Te that is sung in the village on ceremonial occasions. While the spelling gTer may perhaps represent an attempt to find a flattering Tibetan etymology of the settlement's name, the suggested derivation of "Khyung-rdzong" may also be a rather strained effort to establish a harmonious union between the different strands that contributed to the present population of the community. Khyungdzong Karpo, in fact, appears to be quite a common name for palaces or fortresses in Western Tibet.

At the eastern end of Te is a single house, called Baza (Ba-tsha) "Soda", after the white soda-stains on the surrounding earth. It is currently inhabited by the family of one of the Shari Pöngyuta priests, a brother of the lama of Upper Tshognam. In the cliff behind are a few caves and with derelict mud walls, called simply Baza Ug (Seke, < Tib. Ba-tsha-phug), the "Baza Caves", which are said once to have served as hermitages. High up in the cliff face on the north side of the Narshing Chu is a line of caves which the Tepas call *Khe ne mam mi dim,* the Houses of the Grandfathers and Grandmothers.

Tsele

The next inhabited Shöyul north of the Narshing Chu is Tsele, situated half an hour beyond Tshug on the western slope above the Kali Gandaki. Tsele is a small community of thirteen estates (altogether seventeen hearths). On a promontory to the east of the village, directly overlooking the Kali Gandaki valley, are extensive ruins, said to have

been the original site of the settlement. The name of this promontory is Dzongbagang (presumably rDzong-ba-sgang, which would mean "the Ridge of the Fortress-dwellers"). The frequently-related story concerning its abandonment runs as follows. Once upon a time, Tsele used to levy taxes on goods travelling up and down the Kali Gandaki. The revenü office was located at a site now marked by a mani wall on the trail that passes along the foot of Dzongbagang, between the river and the village. Tsele at that stage had 108 houses, 100 on the promontory and eight where the present village stands. One day, a lama of Namgyal monastery (just north of Lo Monthang) came through Tsele on his way from the south, and the officials manning the customs post insisted that he pay duty on a huge copper cauldron that he was carrying. The lama argued that, since the cauldron was for the monastery kitchen, it should be duty-free. But the officials stood their ground and the lama was eventually obliged to pay. A short time later, however, he took his revenge by smiting the village with a destructive spell (*mthu*). As a result of this assault the 100 houses on the promontory that had insisted on the levy being imposed were destroyed, while the remaining eight were spared. The present settlement grew from these eight households.

In a layer of soft alluvial material in the cliff opposite Tsele, east of the Kali Gandaki, is a row of twenty caves. It is said that sixteen of these caves were treasuries, insofar as each was found to contain one volume of the Prajnaparamita in sixteen volumes. These volumes were reputedly placed inside the two-storey image of Maitreya that stands inside Gompa Gang, opposite Tshug, as part of the sacred paraphernalia for consecrating the sculpture.

Gyaga

The boundary between Gyaga and Tsele is formed by the deep gorge of the Gyaga Lungbe Chu. The route to northern Mustang used to pass along this gorge, but about a decade ago the people of Tsele cut a trail along the northern cliff-face. Gyaga may be reached either by descending into the valley from this new trail and following a path up the opposite cliff, entering the village through a tunnel some sixty metres long. Alternatively, one may follow the valley of the Gyaga Lungbe Chu up from where it joins the Kali Gandaki south of Tsele. A short distance above this confluence, in the south-facing cliff, are areas of caves for which we were able to obtain no name other than simply Gyaga Phu - the Gyaga caves.

There is an abandoned settlement a short distance to the west of Gyaga. We did not visit or even obtain a name for this site, and it will therefore be referred to below by the provisional name of "Old Gyaga".

Kyuden

Beyond the point where the trail from Gyaga meets the main route between Tsele and Samar, the road turns northwards and crosses a low pass, the Donge La, marked by a cairn. Before the pass, to the west of the trail, is a large area of abandoned fields, in the middle of which stand a number of stone goat pens. On a ridge above these pens are some stone foundation walls. These ruins, and the old field terraces that surround the ridge (to the south of the ridge it is even possible to discern an old reservoir), are called Kyuden. Although Kyuden is bounded by the territory of Samar, Gyaga and Tsele, it forms part of the territory of Tshug. The reason for this apparent anomaly will be discussed presently.

Samar

As stated above, the area with which the present article is concerned is the territory of the five Seke-speaking Shöyul of southern Mustang and the settlements that stand on it. Samar, the next village to the north of Gyaga and Tsele, is people by Tibetan-speakers and, although classified as part of Baragaon, it does not belong to the Shöyul. Nevertheless it will be considered here because of certain peculiarities in the relationship between its territory and that of Tshug.

The territory of Samar begins at the Donge La. Samar itself is a little village of just twelve households that takes its name from a red-coloured ridge (Tib. Sa-dmar: "Red Earth") extending eastwards from the northern end of the settlement. This ridge is said to have been the site of an earlier community containing a far larger number (variously given as 136 and the ubiquitous 108) of households. One informant suggested that the original settlement had been destroyed in the course of warfare with Jumla, leaving just three households from which the present village grew. The ridge bears clear traces of old buildings. The name of this location is Samar Chöde Drag (Sa-dmar chos-sde-brag, "the Convent Ridge of Samar"), although one informant gave the second word as Chorten (*mchod-rten*), explaining that, seen from below, the ridge resembles a stupa. The ruins at the eastern end of the ridge are said to be of a nunnery, and those immediately to the west, of a fortress. Ruins of an old ring-wall indicate that this was a defensive settlement.

South-east of Chöde Drag, in the bay of the hills facing east, is another ridge called Mokhar Gata on which stand the ruins of a building. From the foundations and ring-wall ruins it may be concluded that this, too, was a fortified settlement.

Below the ridge, the path descends along the base of a south-facing cliff. This area is called Mokhar Gyam, and in the cliff above it are a few caves said to contain arrows and spindles. Although our companions from Samar interpreted these items as signs of past habitation, it may be noted that, in certain exorcistic rituals, arrows and spindles are used as emblems of men and women respectively.

Some fifty metres beyond these caves are the stone ruins of the settlement of Mokhar itself.

The depression between Mokhar Gata and Chode Drag is called Hrung Gyung. At this point it may be worth remarking that the toponyms of Samar mentioned so far include both Tibetan and Seke names. A fact that may be significant is that the two ridges have Tibetan names, whereas the depressions are designated by Seke terms. Thus *gyam* and *gyung* in the names Mokhar Gyam and Hrung Gyung signify respectively "path" (the path in question runs along the base of the cliff) and "valley", whereas Drag (*brag*) and Gata (Dz. **gata**) in the names Chöde Drag and Mokhar Gata, mean "crag" and "ridge" in Tibetan. While this difference may be coincidental, it may also suggest that the fortified contructions on these ridges were built by Tibetan-speakers, while the low-lying Mokhar and its fields were built and farmed (perhaps earlier?) by Seke-speakers.

In the north-east face of Chöde Drag is a set of caves, known simply by the Tibetan name of Chöde Drag Phugpa (Chos-sde brag phug-pa), Chöde Drag Caves. North of the Crag, from west to east, is a gorge called Samar Drogpo. Drogpo (*grog-po*) is the usual north-Mustang term for ravine. Some five hundred metres below Chöde Drag the Samar Drogpo converges with another stream, the Jowo Drogpo, that rises further north. The name Jowo (Jo-bo) derives from the fact that Samar's two

main divinities stand at the edge of this ravine. The first of them, Samar Jowo - who still receives annual animal sacrifices - is in the form of a large cairn situated some distance upstream, while the second, Jowo Mä (*smad*: "lower") is revered at a juniper tree growing at the confluence. The area of land lying between Samar Drogpo and Jowo Drogpo is called Chuwer (probably derived from Tib. Chu-bar, "between streams"). As we shall see presently, there is documentary evidence that there was one a settlement here, although we could find no traces of one. There is, however, an abandoned Khamba military outpost, and it is possible that here, as perhaps also in Tshumbag, this camp was built on top of - or used the material from - the old village. Just below the main trail that crosses Gelung, on the edge of the Jowo Drogpo, are stone walls suggesting the foundation of a building. There is a similar construction at a corresponding point on the northern bank. Diagonal cuttings in the cliff face at this point suggest that the main trail once descended into the gorge between these two points, but was moved further upstream after the original path was eroded away. The stone construction might therefore have been the foundations of monumental stupas, or else of buildings with some function such as monitoring traffic on the road. The area between the Jowo Drogpo and the Soya La, a pass about an hour's walk further on, is called Tamshel, and was also the site of a settlement. Ruined buildings can still be seen amid abandoned fields, and there is a small cluster of caves in a cliff at the northern end of the plateau. (There is also an old Khamba outpost at the upper, western end.) It will be recalled that one of Tshug's clans is sad to have come from Tamshel, so it is no great surprise to learn that Tamshel still belongs to Tshug. In fact the latter's territory extends north of the Soya La to the place called Bena, marked by a tavern. The area between Bena and Yamdak - the site of another tavern - is held commonly by Tshug and Gelung, while after Yamdak lies the territory of Gelung alone.

A document kept in the village archive of Te, and photographed in 1993, contains an intriguing reference to the abandonment of certain settlements in the Shöyul area. Since a full translation of this document, together with a commentary, will be published in the near future, a brief summary of the context will suffice here. The text is undated, but appears to have been written some time in the early eighteenth century. It takes the form of a long letter of complaint, addressed to the Kyekya Gangba rulers in the Muktinath Valley, concerning the aggressive behaviour of Tshug towards its neighbours in violation of the law of the rulers. The Tepas themselves, the letter states, suffered badly at the hands of the Tshugpas: thirteen hearths were abandoned, while other villagers were besieged, starving, in their caves. The fate of certain settlements was even more disastrous:

Text of excerpt from document 1:[13]

60. chu bar stong pa'i phral / sa dmar stong pa'i phral /
61. skyus rdeng stong pa'i phral / 'tshum pag stong pa'i phral /
62. de rnams kyi phral khong gi khur yin yod mchi
63. bsam / de rnams kyi ri klung kun 'khong gi 'cad
64. kyin yod mchi pas / de rnams kyi 'o gom 'u
65. lag rnams 'khong gi khur yin yod mchi bsam /
66. yul chung 'di rnams stong stu cug pa'i ca ba

67. tshug pa la thug mchi pas / yul chung
68. 'di rnams kyi 'o gom 'u lag 'khong la dkal
69. ba zhu / gal srid 'khong la dkal ba mi
70. snang na / ri zhing 'di rnams yang na nged shod pa kun
71. la dgos nas snang ba zhu / ri zhing 'di rnams
72. kyi 'o gom 'u lag kun nged shod pa'i khur ba
73. yin mchi pas thug dgong tso ba zhu /
74. rgya ga tsang le gnyis kyang ma chag na
75. 'khong la za rgyu yod bsam nas / ri rlung
76. thams cad la ang che byed kyin yod mchi /

Translation:

We think that [the Tshugpas] should pay the taxes for the abandoned settlements of Chuwer, Samar, Kyuden and Tshumpag. They are using the pastures and fields of these places. We think that they should be responsible for [performing] the official corvee obligations [accruing to these abandoned settlements].

The main responsibility for causing these small settlements to be abandoned lies with the Tshugpas. Please allocate the official corvee obligations of these small settlements to them. If you do not so allocate them, please divide up these hill-fields among all us people of Shö, and give them to us. Please note that the official corvee obligations of these abandoned settlements (*ri zhing*, lit. hill fields, i.e. fields without nearby inhabitants) is being borne by all of us Shöpas. [Even] if Gyaga and Tsele, too, have not yet been destroyed, [the Tshugpas] think that they should take them over, and they are putting pressure on all their pastures and fields.

Tshug, then, is accused of being directly responsible for the abandonment of four settlements, Chuwer, Samar, Kyuden and Tshumpag, and for nearly seizing Gyaga and Tsele. (Earlier (lines 30-31), we are told that "The responsibility for depopulating the community of the people of Tsele lies with the Tshugpas"). Chuwer, in fact, was part of the territory of Tshug (although the ownership was disputed by Samar) until the beginning of the present decade, when a prominent member of Samar swore a solemn oath to the effect that, as far as he knew, historically the land belonged to his village.

This document does, however, imply that Chuwer, as a settlement and not merely a tract of pastureland, was once a political entity independent of Samar until it was forcibly seized by Tshug. One particularly interesting assertion of the document is that Samar was actually *abandoned* at the time of writing. Now the present inhabitants of Samar are reputedly recent settlers who have largely replaced the older, mainly noble residents. To our knowledge there is only one remaining noble household. The clan in question is the Shari Pöngyuta, a branch of which has been encountered earlier as the priestly family of Upper Tshognam. It was the presence of these nobles that gave Samar its status as one of the "capitals" (*rgyal-sa*) of Baragaon; but since the ritual function of its nobles that corresponded with this status continued until a generation ago, the population which the present document claims was displaced by Tshug must have been some other group, not necessarily of Tibetan-speakers. If the text is to be believed, Samar, like the other "small settlements" listed, was depopulated by Tshug and

its fields and pastureland exploited by the Tshugpas. It therefore seems likely that the village regained territorial independence at a subsequent period, probably under the Tibetan-speaking noble settlers. It is worth remarking that one estate in Samar is even now regarded as being the property of Tshug. The only remaining documents in Samar are said to be those in the Shari Pöngyuta household. We did not obtain permission to photograph the village archive,which is contained here, since certain members of the caretaker committee were absent, but hope to do so on a future occasion. The private documents of this house were, however, obtained, and a study of their contents may shed light on some of the historical questions regarding the settlement.

Conclusion

The findings discussed above provide us with a substantial list of abandoned (and in the case of Samar, reinhabited) settlements within the territory of the five Shöyul. Setting aside the numerous cave systems within the area, they are: Tshumpag, Rele, Khyarku, "Old Gyaga", Dzongbagang (in Tsele), Kyuden, Samar, Mokhar, Chuwer, Tamshel, the two settlement of old Tangbe, Kog, A, Naudzong and the nameless ruins at Chumig Gong.

We do not know at present the extent to which the lifespans of these settlements overlapped. The evidence suggests that several of the villages on the west bank of the Kali Gandaki may have been contemporary: Tshumpag, Kyuden, Samar, and Chuwer were probably dissolved about the same time. The situation on the eastern side is less clear: Kog, A, Naudzong and perhaps the settlement at Chumig Gong may have existed contemporaneously, but in view of the unreliability of the documentary evidence this must remain speculative. These last four settlements are conspicuously absent from the letter in which Te describes Tshug's expansionism in the area; there is an apparent reference to Naudzong, but as a pasture area of Te rather than as the fortified town its ruins suggest it once was. If they were in existence at that time they would surely have played some part in the conflict. These sites, then, were probably already abandoned at the time the western settlements were disintegrating, that is, roughly at the end of the seventeenth century. Whether there was any overlap between them, however, is a matter for further archaeological and documentary research.

Whatever the case, it is clear that, over the course of time the demographic pattern of the Shöyul changed, with the people abandoning the outlying settlements and becoming concentrated in a few - more precisely, two - centres of population. The centres in question are Tshug and Te. Tshug absorbed many of the inhabitants - and the territories - of at least the western villages: Tshumpag, Khyarku, Rele, Kyuden, Samar, Chuwer and Tamshel. Te had earlier been a melting pot for those on the east: Kog, A, Naudzong and the Chumig Gong settlement. The reasons for these two processes of concentration were, however, quite different. In the former case, the process was one of small communities being absorbed by an already existing powerful centre: the reason for this may have been either a quest for security in what was obviously a period of regional instability or, if we are to believe Te's "eyewitness" version of events, sheer oppression and land-grabbing on the part of Tshug. In the case of the east, the abandoned communities were themselves large fortified settlements, and it is not even clear yet whether Te existed prior to their dissolution. They may all have been abandoned, as Kog and A are said to have been, because of natural

disasters, and those of their inhabitants who remained in the area eventually pooled in Te.

An important question that may be raised concerns the ethnic identity of these old communities. A closer study of toponymy will undoubtedly be useful in this respect. Most of the place names we have collected appear to be of Seke, rather than Tibetan provenance, but the names of the settlements themselves provide no clear answers. Some names, like Samar, are Tibetan; others, such as Kyuden, are more probably Seke, while the majority - Kog, A, Naudzong for example - are indeterminate.

When cultural homogeneity is attained between two cohabiting ethnic groups, the culture that achieves ascendancy is usually that of the politically dominant population. This is what appears to have happened in the case of the Muktinath Valley, where the language and culture of the Tibetan-speaking rulers from the north has all but eclipsed the older, non-Tibetan culture. Conversely, the clans that found their way into Tshug could conceivably have been Tibetans who adjusted to the language and culture of their powerful hosts. This being said, it would be surprising if the "small settlements" detroyed by Tshug had existed as little islands of Tibetan culture in a predominantly Seke-speaking area; they, too, are referred to in the Te chronicle as being a part of the Shöyul, a name which, as we have seen, does have cultural implications. As for the eastern settlements, there is nothing to suggest that Te was a politically powerful centre of Seke-speaking culture, which might have changed the language of the groups who settled there: on the contrary, the narrative of the origins of Te's clans suggests that the migrants themselves were the dominant group - if indeed they themselves were not the founders of Te. Thus Kog, A, Naudzong and the Chumig Gong community are also likely to have been Seke-speaking.

The picture that emerges from these preliminary explorations may be summarised as follows: the territory of the Shöyul once contained at least fifteen settlements (excluding cave systems) other than the five existing villages. Those on the east side of the Kali Gandaki were abandoned earlier than the majority of those on the west. Just how many of these settlements were inhabited contemporaneously is not yet known. And as for the inhabitants of the settlements, the balance of probability suggests that they were not Tibetan but speakers of Seke.

Notes

1. For Tibetan etymologies of these names see Snellgrove 1981: 170.

2. Somewhat surprisingly, Snellgrove's description (1981: 171) of the temple does not mention the stone.

3. A description of this temple, properly called Kunbzang chos-gling, is given in Snellgrove 1981: 172-173.

4. The text is presented in its original, unedited form.

5. The Tibetan text is unedited. Hyphens signify contracted forms.

6. *Ri-tsham* (for *ri-mtshams*): *ri* literally means "hill" in Tibetan, but in the Baragaon dialect of Tibetan, usually in the form *ri-kha*, it signifies simply uncultivated land. *mTshams*: "boundary".

7. The name may have its origin in the Nepali word *bijuwa,* denoting a shaman or sorcerer. This lama's name is in fact usually pronounced as "Bichuwa/ Bijuwa".

8. Although the story that part of Kog's population

settled in Nar is well known in Baragaon, there seems to be no corresponding version of the tale in Nar itself. The foundation of Nar is, however, attributed to a migrant from an unspecified location in Mustang (Fürer-Haimendorf 1983: 97).

9. A Nepali document from Dzong refers to a certain "Muwakot", apparently denoting the castle of that settlement (cf. Karmacharya n.d.).

10. *Ya* in Seke means "pass". Our addition of the word "Pass" after names ending in -ya or -la should be understood as an exegesis, rather than a translation, of the name.

11. The term **oldog** in fact denotes only dried turnips.

12. Tsabgyepa (rTsa-ba brgyad-pa): "having eight foundation points". The name is said to be a reference to the architectural style in which this lineage traditionally built its houses. The ruins of two examples of these houses, each shaped like a wide, shallow letter H, can be seen in the area. One, called Gompa Gyang, stands a short distance to the north of Chongkhor, and the other is at Oldog Kamsa.

13. The text is unedited. It should be noted that there are certain problems of interpretation that have not been indicated in the following translation.

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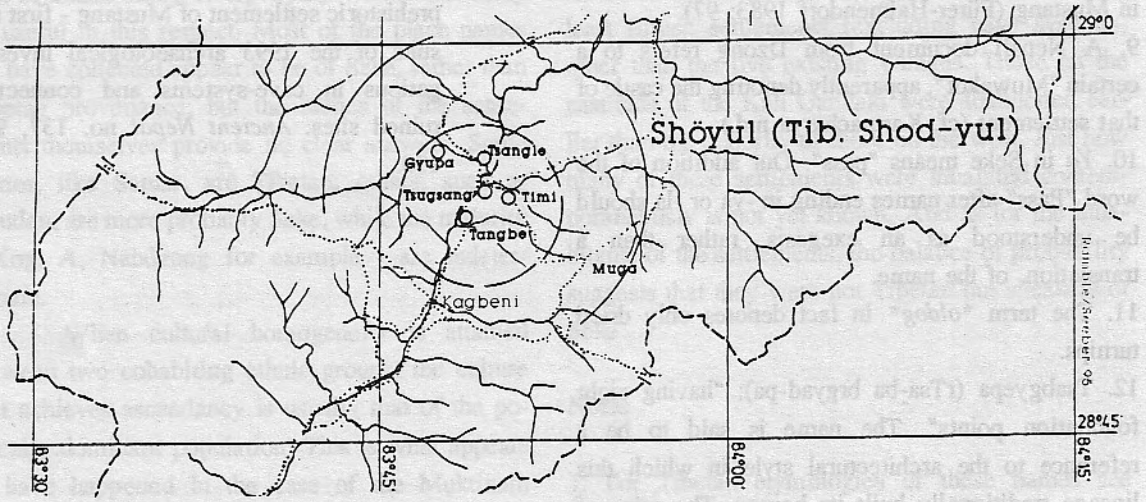
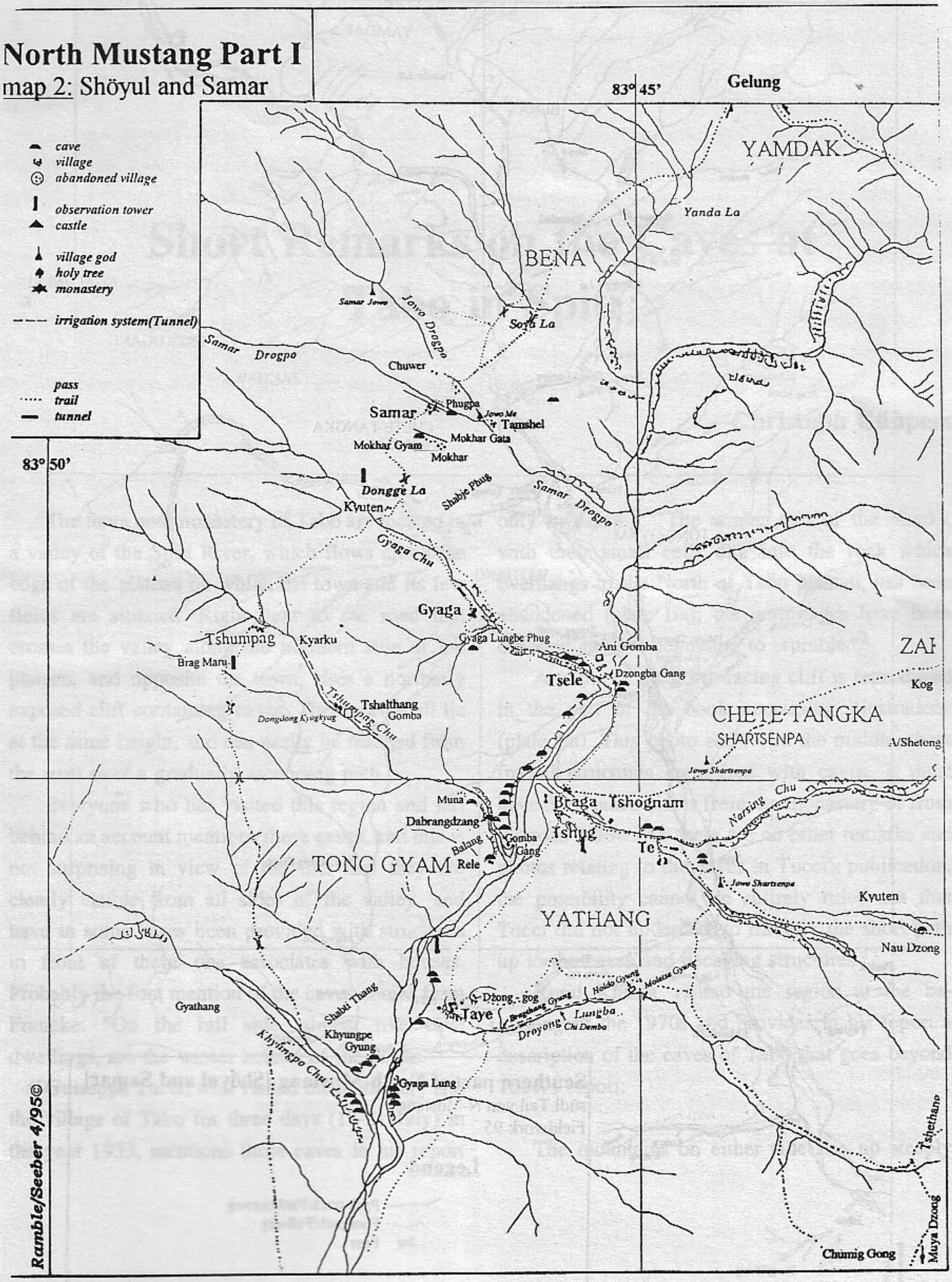
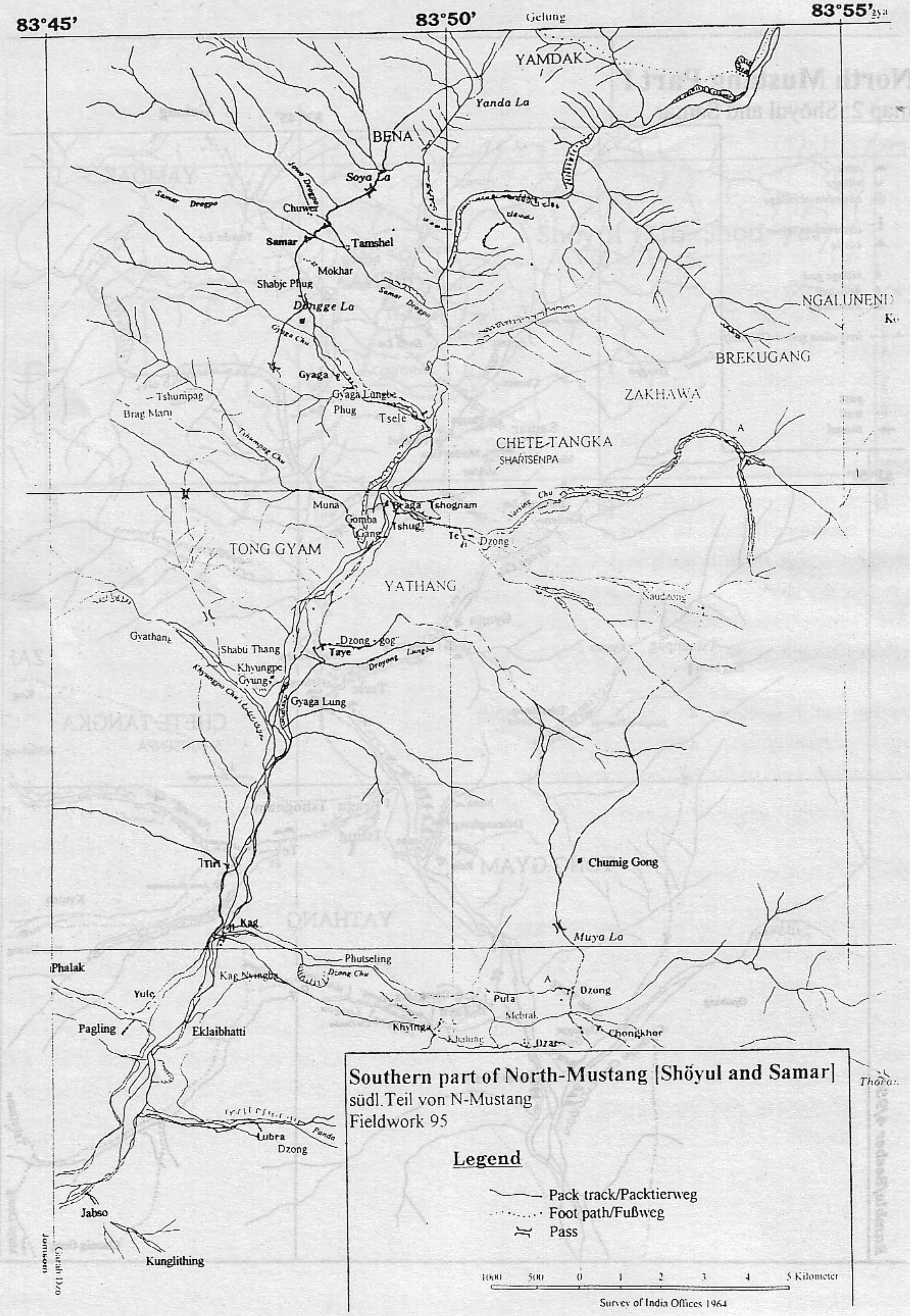


Shöyul (Tib. Shod-yul)
29°0
28°45'
Gyupa
Tsangle
Tsugsang
Timi
Tangbe
Muga
Kagbeni
83°30'
83°45'
84°00'
84°15'


North Mustang Part I
map 2: Shöyul and Samar
cave
village
abandoned village
observation tower
castle
village god
holy tree
monastery
irrigation system(Tunnel)
pass
trail
tunnel
83° 45'
83° 50'
Gelung
YAMDAK
Yanda La
BENA
Samar Jowo
Jowo Drogpo
Soyu La
Samar Drogpo
Chuwer
Samar
Phugpa
Jowo Me
Tamshel
Mokhar Gyam
Mokhar Gata
Mokhar
Dongge La
Shabje Phug
Samar Drogpo
Kyuten
Gyaga Chu
Gyaga
Gyaga Lungbe Phug
Tshumpag
Kyarku
Brag Maru
Ani Gomba
Dzongba Gang
Tsele
ZA
Kog
CHETE TANGKA
SHARTSENPA
A/Shetong
Jowo Shartsenpa
Tshalthang Gomba
Dongdong Kyogkyog
Tshumpag Chu
Narsing Chu
Muna
Dabrangdzang
Braga
Tshognam
Tshug
Te
Balang
Gomba
Gang
Rele
TONG GYAM
Jowo Shartsenpa
Kyuten
YATHANG
Nau Dzong
Holdo Gyung
Molatse Gyung
Dzong - gog
Taye
Brogthang Gyung
Lungba
Drogyong
Chi Dembo
Gyathang
Shabü Thang
Khyungpe Gyung
Khyingpo Chu
Gyaga Lung
Tshethang
Muya Dzong
Chumig Gong
Ramble/Seeber 4/95©



Southern part of North-Mustang [Shöyul and Samar]
südl. Teil von N-Mustang
Fieldwork 95

Short Remarks on the Caves at Tabo in Spiti

—Christoph Cüppers

The town and monastery of Tabo are located in a valley of the Spiti River, which flows along the edge of the plateau on which the town and its few fields are situated. Right next to the road that crosses the valley along the northern side of the plateau, and opposite the town, rises a northerly exposed cliff containing caves. These caves all lie at the same height, and can easily be reached from the road over a gradually ascending path.

Everyone who has visited this region and left behind an account mentions these caves, and this is not surprising in view of the fact that they are clearly visible from all sides of the valley, and have in some cases been provided with structures in front of them one associates with houses. Probably the first mention of the caves comes from Francke: "On the hill side, almost like cave dwellings, are the winter houses of the lamas."[1]

Guiseppe Tucci, who visited the monastery and the village of Tabo for three days (18-21 July) in the year 1933, mentions these caves in his report only in passing: "The winter seat of the monks, with their small cells dug into the rock which overhangs to the North of Tabo plateau, has been abandoned (plate IIa); the hermitages have been deserted and are beginning to crumble."[2]

A photo of the north-facing cliff is reproduced in the part of his book containing illustrations (plate IIa). This photo shows, in the middle, three frontal structures connected with caves. It must have been taken either from the monastery or from the road below. As there are no other remarks and photos relating to the caves in Tucci's publication, the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out that Tucci did not undertake to traverse the short path up to the caves and decaying structures.[3]

Romi Khosla visited the region at the beginning of the 1970s and provides in his report a description of the caves of Tabo that goes beyond Tucci's report:

The mountains on either side rise up steeply

and the monastery is built on a flat piece of land that has been defined by a large bend in the river. The footpath, which remains north of the river, makes its way into Tabo village and beyond, passing well the rocky cliffs and the ancient caves that are attached to the monastery. These caves are totally dark from inside and have been neglected for many years although their walls still have the ancient paintings which were done by the Indian craftsmen who decorated the temples of the *Chos-'khor*. Unfortunately these paintings are in a terrible state and, without considerable renovation, it is not possible to discern very much on the rocky walls.[4]

The above-mentiond caves of Tabo are far from being the only system of caves in this region. If one follows the course of the Spiti River west towards Kaza, along the way one can see similar systems located above the road or on the other side of the river. Some of these have eroded so much that only remains of the back wall or a small opening filled with debris is visible. These caves are not located in direct proximity to modern settlements but in isolated spots above the road.

If we return once more to Tucci's photograph and compare it with plate (1) of the caves, taken in July 1994, it is immediately apparent that, of the three dwellings standing in Tucci's time, only the one on the right still exists. The steady process of decay affecting the site has in the meantime been halted by the Indian government, which gave it Protected Cultural Heritage status.

From plate (1) it can also be seen that the number of caves is far larger than what is visible on the plate in Tucci (1988). A system of approximately six caves (pls. 2 and 3) extends to the right of the house, and a number of smaller complexes, some filled with debris, to the left of it (pls. 4,5,6, 7). Plate 7 shows the last caves in this series, all of them already in a state of heavy erosion.

Handa appears to have been the first person to investigate the caves above Tabo more closely. Handa writes of "natural caves", but they are clearly artificial ones, that is, creatad by human hand. In his report, Handa mentions that several potsherds were found.

All the above-mentioned authors agree that the caves served as dwellings, principally as winter quarters for the monks of Tabo. They do not ask the question who excavated the caves and how old they might be.

During my highly cursory inspection of these caves in August 1994 upon joining a research project on Western Tibet of the University of Vienna and the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, I noted close similarities between them and the caves investigated in southern Mustang. Both represent man-made caves connected with one another and built up, in some cases, into more than one level. In Tabo, as in Mustang, traces could be found of old hearths, niches, seats and grain storage areas. Of the wall paintings mentioned by Khosla, however, I found no trace. The walls of the caves I visited were not coated with clay - which would have been necessary for the application of paint, as demonstrated by the examples from Mustang. Khosla's observation presumably refers to the "building-like" caves, which are the most easily accessible. The walls in all the caves I visited lacked clay coatings, and some of them were heavily sooted.

The spontaneous impression of similarity between the Tabo caves and those in northern and

southern Mustang naturally raises the question whether the caves of Tabo and the other caves along the Spiti River represent old settlement sites[5] that were only later used by Buddhist hermits and monks as dwellings. In order to answer this question with greater certainty, it would be desirable to carry out an archaeological investigation of these and other caves along the Spiti River with the same care as could be shown by the research team of the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology for the caves of Mustang.

Notes

1. Francke (1910), p. 38.
2. Tucci (1988), p. 37.
3. Handa (1994), p. 128, shares the view that neither Tucci nor Francke visited the caves: "It was probably because of the unwiedly look of these caves that Francke and Tucci did not hazard the risk of ascending them." It should be repeated that access to these caves is over an easily traversable footpath, and in no way compares in degree of difficulty to access to similar cave systems in southern or northern Mustang.
4. Khosla (1979), p. 37.
5. The dating of the cave systems in the valley of Muktināth undertaken by A. Simons, W. Schön and S.S. Shrestha was to 800 B.C. Cf. Simons (1994), p. 54.

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Plate 1 The northern slope of Tabo

Plate 2 The caves above Tabo village, eastern direction

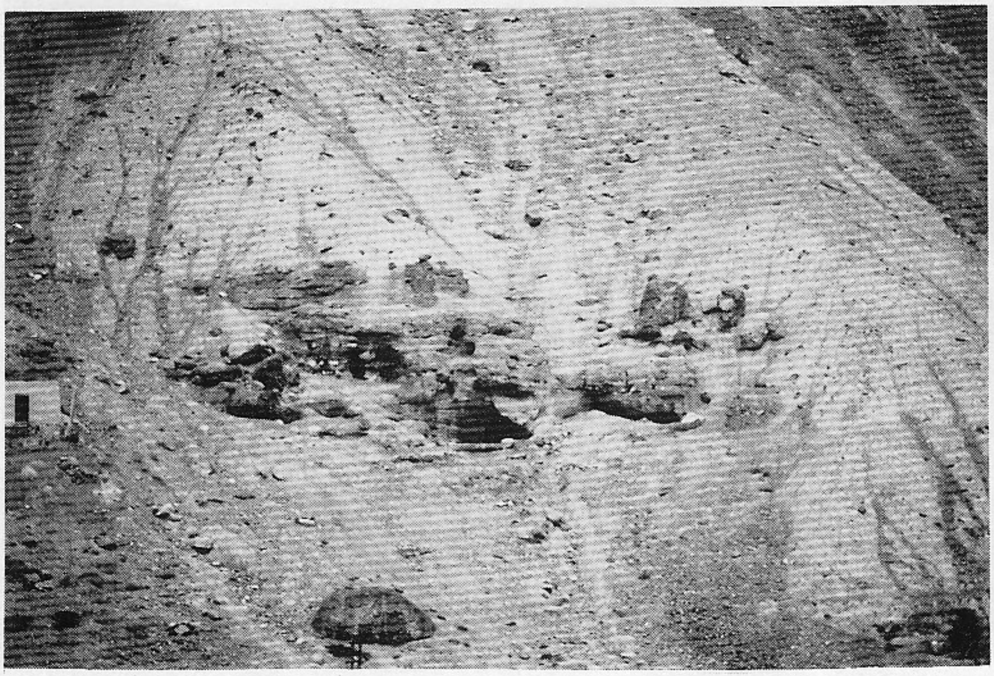


Plate 3 The caves above Tabo village, eastern direction

Plate 4 The caves above Tabo village, western direction

Plate 5 The caves above Tabo village, western direction

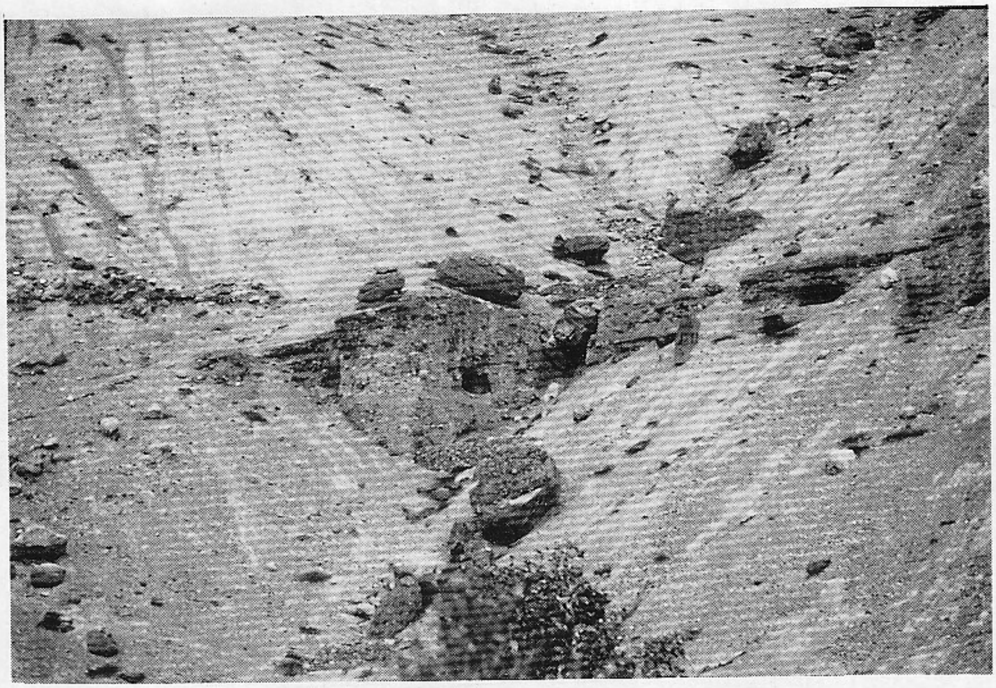
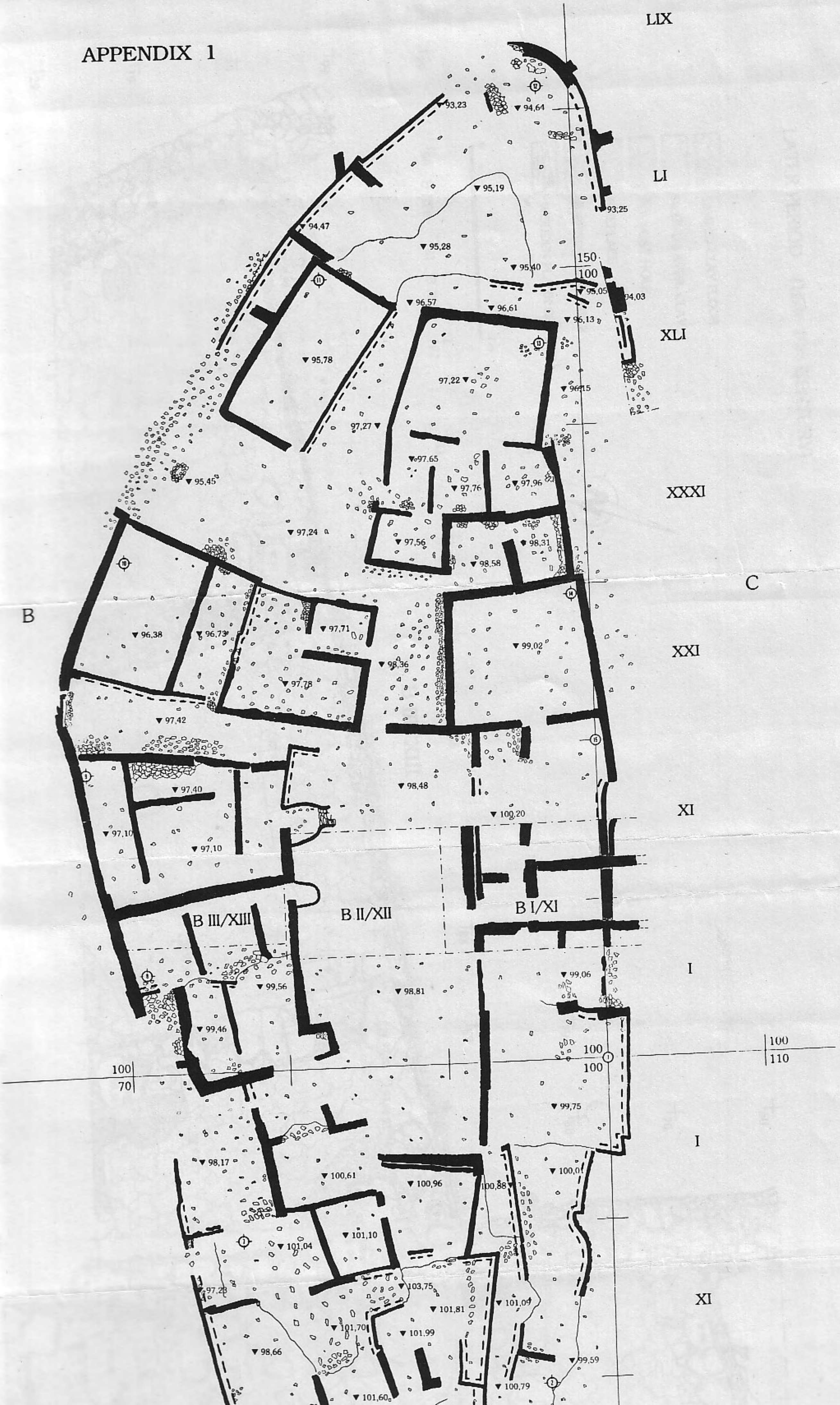


Plate 6 The caves above Tabo village, western direction

Plate 7 The caves above Tabo village, western direction

APPENDIX 1


LIX
LI
XLI
XXXI
XXI
XI
I
I
XI
B
C
B III/XIII
B II/XII
B I/XI
93,23
94,64
95,19
93,25
94,47
95,28
95,40
96,57
96,61
95,05
94,03
96,13
95,78
97,22
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96,73
97,71
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99,02
97,78
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97,10
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99,06
99,56
98.81
99,46
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110
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70
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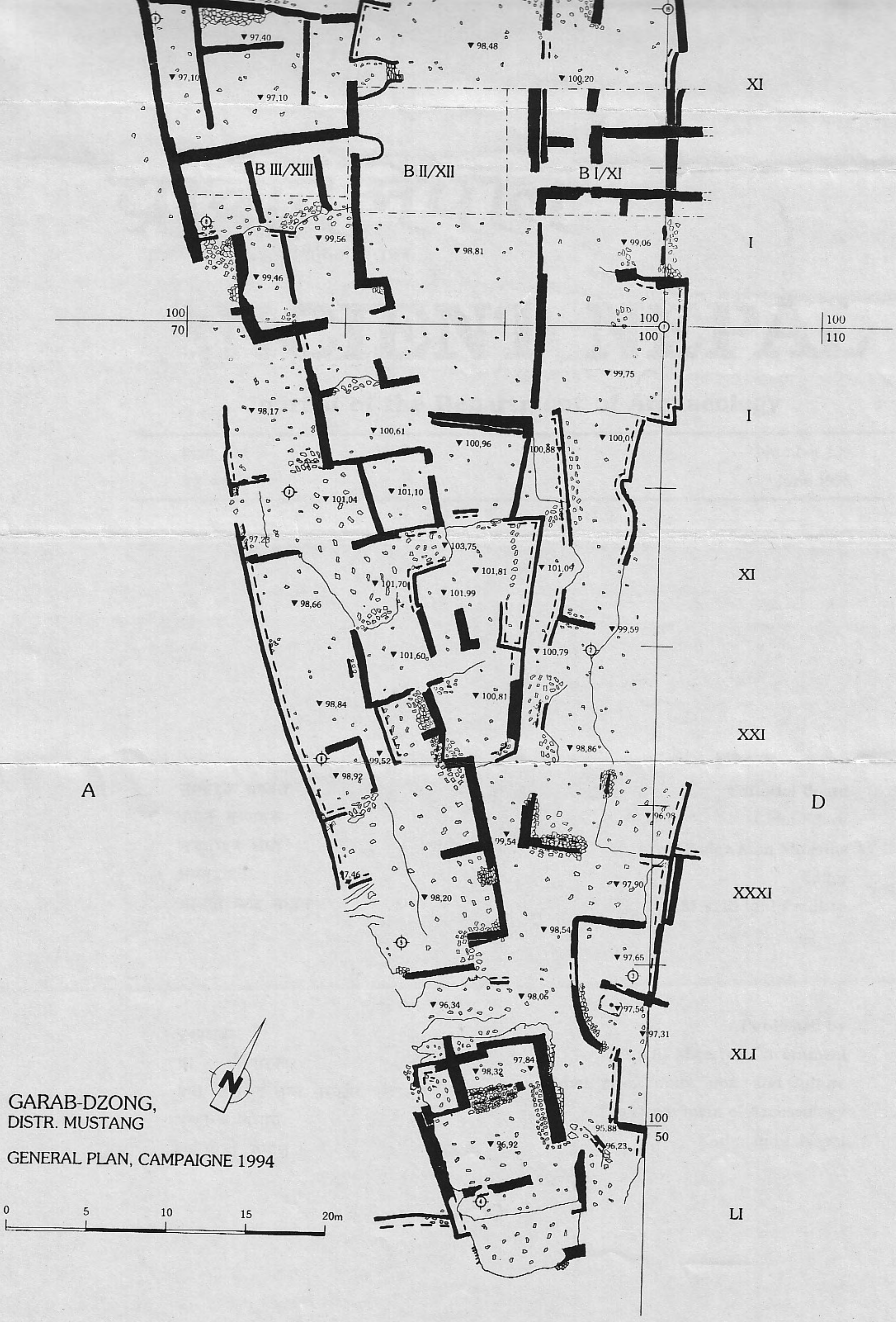
101,60



GARAB-DZONG,
DISTR. MUSTANG

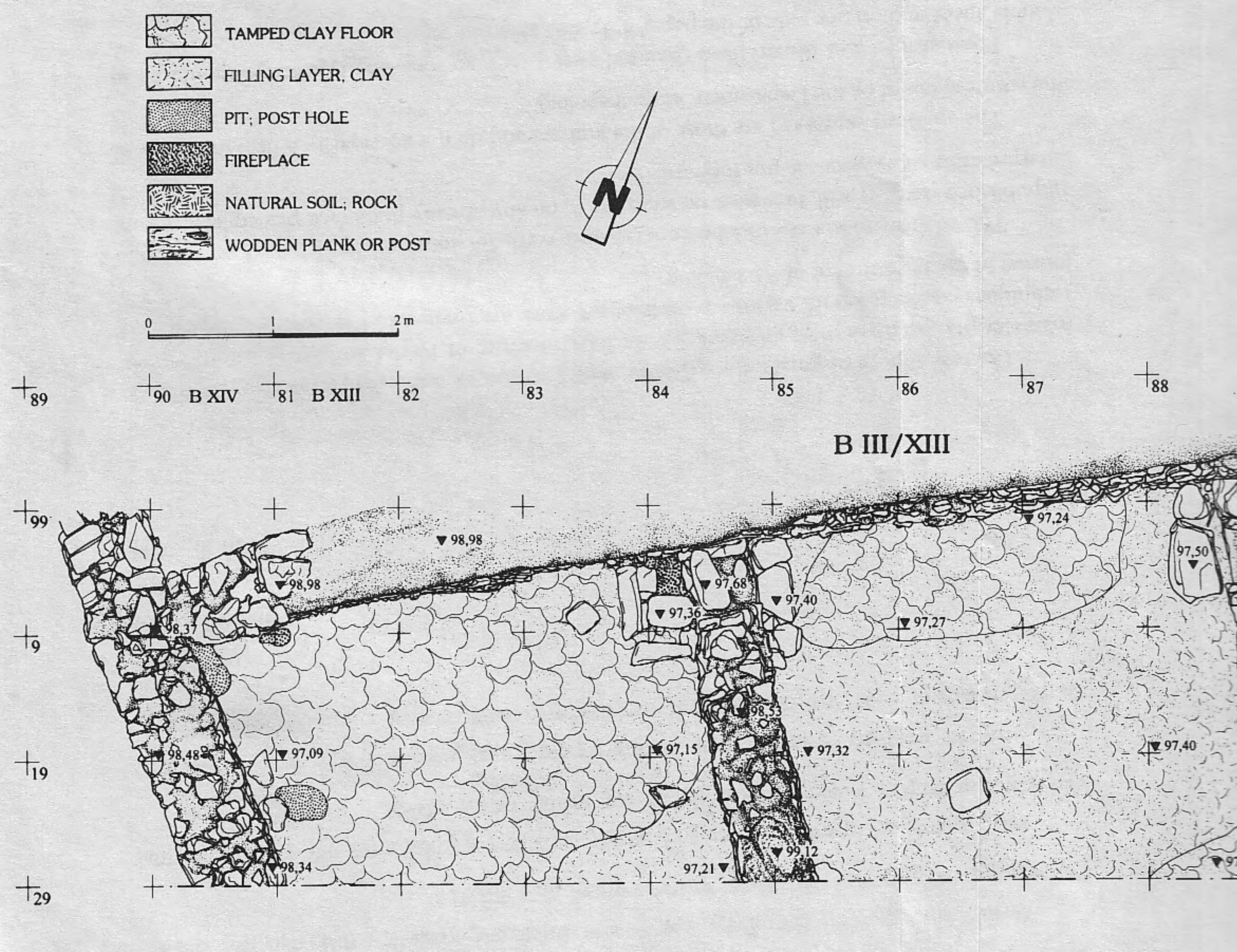
GENERAL PLAN, CAMPAIGNE 1994

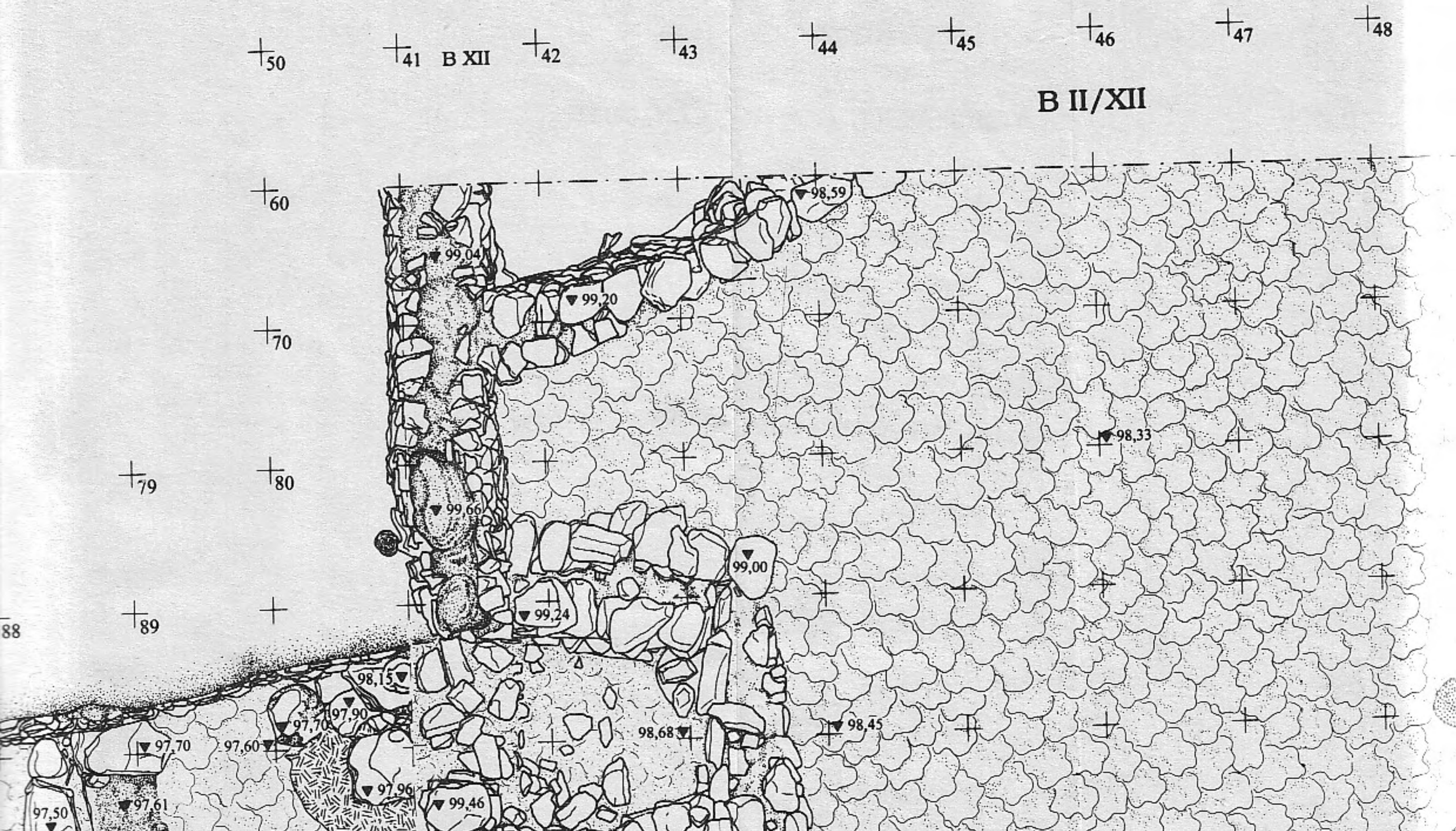
APPENDIX 2

GARAB - DZONG

1994 EXCAVATION AREA

LATER PERIOD (16th -19th CENTURY)




B XII
B II/XII
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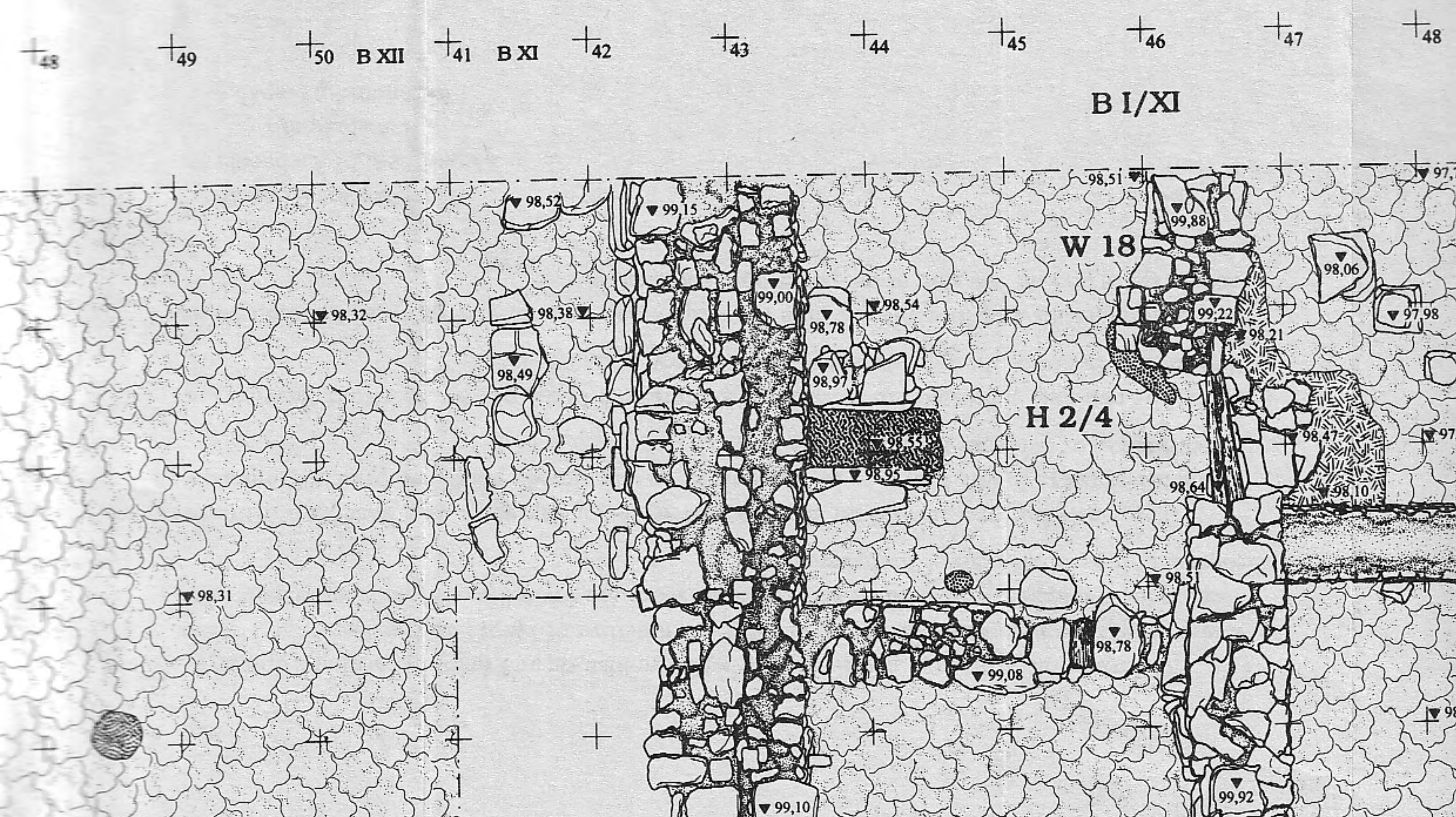

48 49 50 B XII 41 B XI 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
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98,62
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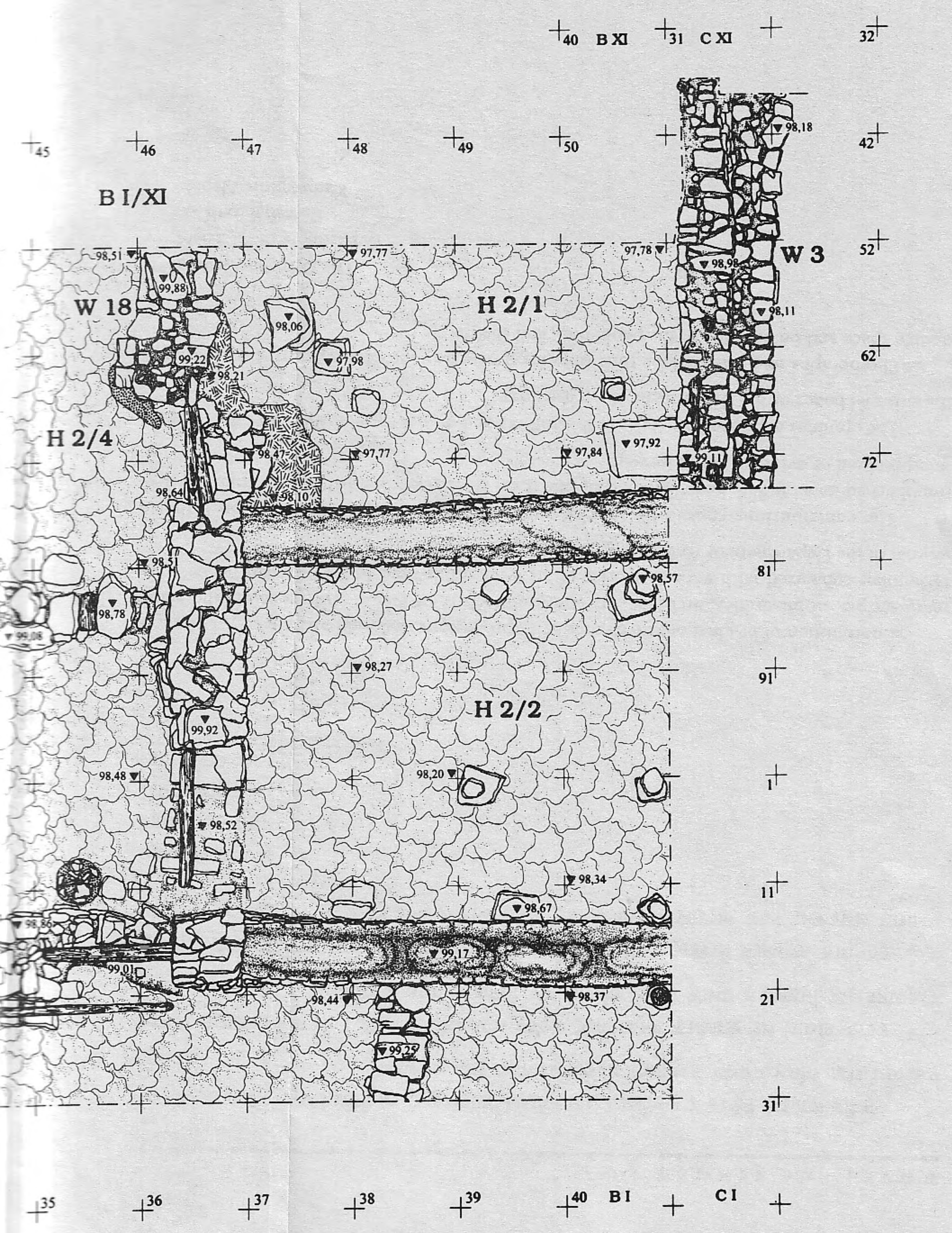
38 39 40 B II 31 B I 32 33 34 35 36 37



40 B XI
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W 18
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H 2/4
72
81
91
H 2/2
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40 B I
C I
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97,98
98,21
98,47
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99,25

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